

This set for

Dwight & Margaret Clarke,

With the author's
affectionate regards,

William Dudley Kelly

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NATIONS - IN - LAW

An Unconventional Analysis of Civics



By WILLIAM DUDLEY PELLEY, 1885-

AUTHOR'S OVERTURE



NATIONS-IN-LAW



✿ ✿ AUTHOR'S OVERTURE ✿ ✿





IS IT not an eccentric circumstance that the people calling themselves Americans—that is, political residents of the United States of America—live under more laws and yet are more lawless, and suffer from more civic government and yet have less Government, than any other people on the face of the earth? Is it not equally eccentric that these same Americans should do more worldly bragging about their democratic forms and political liberty than almost any other people, while at the same time the average man in the United States is probably the greatest civic ignoramus to be found in any civilized country on the planet? If these inquiries sound pragmatic, it is because thirty years as a newspaper publisher, novelist, and journalist, have brought the evidence to my attention.

Law, Government, and Politics, are certainly not lacking as factors in the American's daily affairs. At the same time, intelligent observation will disclose that no

three subjects in his day-to-day exploits serve to interest him less  

Law is something to be outwitted as respectably as possible  

Government is a mysterious Moloch with headquarters at Washington, D. C., which exists to impose taxes, produce the phenomena of the Congress and the Supreme Court, and solve all those economic quandaries which the citizens concede they cannot solve themselves.

Politics is the spoils system by which men with aspirations become the controlling big-wigs in the governing machinery  

All of it is a sort of necessary evil incident to the enjoyment of a high but complicated standard of living—something to be tolerated like the chances of illness or traffic accident day upon day—while the average citizen goes about his business of wresting a living from society with such success or failure as his talents dictate.

¶ Society has to sense the influence of Law, Government, and Politics, year in and year out—so reasons the average man—that the other fellow may be kept within some measure of control. Always it is the other fellow who must be kept within some measure of control. So the Senator, the Congressman, the Judge, the Policeman, are empowered to yield authority and enforce penalties for lawlessness. The common citizen, however, takes it largely in the abstract.

He takes his Law, Government, and Politics, vicariously—as he has been trained to take his religion—and en-

ters into the control of his institutions only by reading the newspaper headlines as to what some reporter or editor thinks about this or that. Once every year, or two years, or four years, he gets the day off to go to the polls and register his choice of officials out of bedeviling lists of candidates. With such slight personal annoyance out of the way, he docilely conducts himself as the prevalent oligarchy directs.

The Senator ignores him—unless he be a great industrialist with funds to be utilized in future campaigns—the Congressman votes his nation into an economic morass, the Judge looks down from his bench upon him as a culprit, the corner policeman lays a heavy hand upon his shoulder and “bawls him out” for any little thing from unsanitary expectoration to helping rob a filling station to get the funds to eat.

That all of these are the public servants and by no means the public overlords, is entirely forgotten in the American psychology.

Five hundred and thirty-one representatives from as many legislative districts about the nation, have each a mentality not much raised above dog-catcher. Having failed uniformly to conduct their personal affairs successfully, they consider themselves—mystically enough—competent to conduct the affairs of the nation. Each gets himself elected through the machinations of local political strategists. Presently the whole assemblage of them gathers on Capitol Hill. On Capitol Hill, with a chairman in the rostrum, they begin making

laws. And by some weird lapse of the common citizen's reasoning, he accepts that if five hundred and thirty-one dog-catchers come together under a chairman or two, they forthwith and thereby acquire the wisdom of as many Solomons, and what they decree shall show Olympian poise.

In the face of all of it, if you come along and offer the typical American a book which bids to straighten him out on Law, Government, and Politics—or make him take intelligent note of the fallaciousness of all of it—he will shrug his shoulders, look bored, treat it like a statistical report of the Federal Reserve and try to get away from you as from an agent for life insurance.

Truth to tell, Law, Government and Politics—as subjects—are beyond him.

He affects to comprehend them, but he doesn't.

Just as Religion is not something to be analyzed but to be believed, so Civics is something to be accredited but not interpreted.

Most of it rests upon the fact that the more the State grows complicated, the higher and more remote are officials moved away from human individuals doing very human things. The higher and more remote that officials are moved away, the less chance the common citizen sees for himself to participate in Law, Government and Politics as a personal activity. So he has to content himself with the insouciant role of spectator.

People are uniformly interested in a worldly activity in the precise ratio that it is possible for them to play roles

in that worldly activity themselves ✱ ✱ ✱ ✱
Law, Government, and Politics, are abstract to the average American because the role of participant is generally denied him.

Casting a vote for a list of candidates once a year, or once in two or four years, is by no means being a vital participant—but merely being the agency or expedient by which Law, Government and Politics are sustained.



SO it serves my caprice to discuss Law, Government and Politics with the typical American, so that he begins to see what a consequential hoax is being put over on him year after year by a civic system that makes arrogant overlords of the grossest public servants, and converts the common man into the prey of the politically voracious instead of presenting him as the enlightened genesis of the whole republic system.

There is nothing particularly "dry as dust" about Law, Government, and Politics, excepting as it may prove to the pecuniary enhancement of groups, classes, cliques or individuals to keep them so, that the political racket may prosper without hindrance or checkmate.

"There are no dull subjects," once declared George Horace Lorimer, erstwhile editor of *The Saturday Evening Post*, "there are only dull writers."

Of course, by presenting the text from this angle, I by no means imply outstanding literary brilliance in my own right. Rather I say, that over a period of forty

years I have had more than ordinary chance to observe my fellowman in his eccentric reactions to all civic procedures. I have trafficked with him in Prosperity and sought to relieve him in Depression. I have, with no small success, awakened him as a nation to the evils of alien usurpation, founded a political party in my own right, and proposed a minute and complete system of altered Economics whose stipulations are acknowledged as meritorious enough for practice, by tens—and even hundreds—of thousands of persons brought to ruin by old customs.

I would, therefore, bring to the attention of the average citizen badly bedeviled by these times, my conclusions and convictions as to just what Law, Government, and Politics are, in each instance. I would make these subjects human, understandable, simple, and, I hope, reasonably interesting.

I would help the common citizen to grasp that a multitude of laws do not make Law, that finesse in Government is the maximum lack of it, and that Politics in its essence is not at all the practice of the civic spoils system, but the agenda of policies by which business gets done that in the ordinary day is nobody's business in that it is everybody's.

I would bring home to the man in the street, in other words, the realization that most of his civic and economic troubles come upon him because he permits willy-nilly his birthright of intelligent direction of the public business, to be cunningly denied him.

So long as Law, Government and Politics can be presented to the common citizen in a manner that arouses his maximum distaste—provided it succeeds in arousing his interest at all—the Predatory Clique can go its way unimpeded, and with major success in looting and browbeating the whole social body.

I say none of us has to stand for this sort of thing one day longer than it takes for us to comprehend what Law, Government, and Politics, truly are—and react accordingly in terms of dictators instead of in roles of those who serve dictation.

The only thing mysterious about Law, Government, and Politics, is the mystery which the spoilsmen themselves wrap around their persons or their offices—filching powers and prerogatives that by no means belong to them ~~to~~ ~~to~~

Take my book, therefore, as an unconventional analysis of the phenomenon of Order in all human society.

Follow through with me while I comment here and there on all those elements that make for social control and yet too often result in creation of a governing caste that demands its adulation from the fact of its office instead of its merit.

An understanding of these matters is being forced upon most of us, whether we would pay attention to them instinctively or not.

Nations-in-Law is my offering to my bedeviled fellow American in these years of a great penury, putting most of our purblind acceptances beneath the philosophical

microscope and suggesting wherein our mass judgments
may have erred.

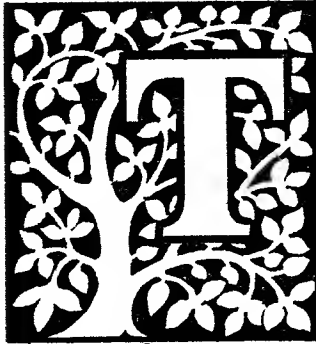
So let us to the business!

Introductions should be brief.

THE FIRST DISCUSSION

NATIONS-IN-LAW

THE FIRST DISCUSSION



HE WORLD, I declare, has one titanic need. It needs a common recognition of world-wide social maladies that cause men and women to suffer all out of proportion to what may be required for their normal spiritual progression

Our premise must be, that as soon as a preponderant number of reasoning human beings discern what is wrong with existing world culture, the very annoyance of their sufferings will compel them to embrace such effective and permanent remedies as enlightened logic may propose.

This we must concede as foundation for what follows or perish in our deficiencies of practical prescription. There are lions in our pathways!

Human intercourse in this world of ours has of late become so complicated that a larger mental and temperamental vision than humankind has ever exercised is not only necessary but vigorously imperative. We are coming to a snarl in world affairs making man to

realize that his species faces the same problem everywhere: How shall he go about daily life in maximum comfort and security of person, yet give full and dexterous expression to the peculiar traits and attributes with which Nature has endowed that branch or division of the species which each mortal represents.



This problem presents increasing confusions as generation succeeds generation and inter-racial society grows more and more complex.



Something must be done to make us not only world-conscious geographically but intelligent inter-racially in our dealings by continents, that each and every people may live out its destiny and contribute to world organization that which is its essence: Some particular exhibit of divine benefaction.

Until we establish this as a premise for our argument we shall obviously get nowhere. According as we do establish it, we shall lay a pavement for the feet of unborn progeny traversing quagmires of superstitious ignorance and climbing life's heights to Utopian attainments ❖ ❖

There are those among us, although their numbers are decreasing, who think of Utopia as a grandiose system conceived by idealists seeking to rationalize by philosophy what they cannot get by strategy. They look about them and behold the human race in all of its squalor, misery, and intellectual bedlam—to say nothing of theological and ethical bigotry—and contend that Utopia cannot be for this planet. If Utopia were

practically possible, they declare, in some form or other we should long ago have found it.

Taken by and large, such people are provincial. By provincial, I mean not circumscribed as to geography but as to spiritual discernments of what Life is all about. They are really cowards of a sort who shrink from challenging the seemingly Impossible, not realizing that the Impossible for one age has become Commonplace the next  

A certain Utopian structure is no more possible of attainment than the complete termination of wickedness is possible by merely passing legislation. I mean the Utopia whereunder all men recognize to the fullest the rights of other men, and set up a State wherein there is no guile either public or private. Human nature would have to be remade in a twelve-month in order to bring in that kind of Utopia, and only the fool could expect it to be realized. But there is another sort of Utopia that is no more impossible of attainment—at least in the political sense—than the union of the forty-eight States has proven impossible under the Federal Constitution  

We are going to probe the fecundities in this interracial Utopia in this argument. First, however, let us reach an agreement as to what Utopia is . . .

I would define Utopia as that state or condition of a people wherein each has opportunity to contribute to universal culture that which it was meant to represent in earth's educative structure, with annoyance to others

minimized, and lacking the duress-factors of armament or economic restriction to subvert orderly growth or spiritual ramifications of advancing world consciousness ✱ ✱

That is the only extent to which we need concern ourselves with Utopia in this unconventional analysis of a wholesomer world society.

It goes without saying, however, that in expounding such a definition it is well-nigh impossible to engage the interest of the man in the street. Much as all of us would like to elevate mass thinking and help the man in the street to take a more understanding view of the benefits possible to world society—that he may profit as an individual—it is hardly commonsense to inflict trigonometry on school children who still have headaches from mastering simple fractions. This is casting no aspersions on the man in the street any more than children should be criticized for not being born with a knowledge of fractions in their brains that they may proceed at once to trigonometry. We as a species have our grades of intellectual attainments, or classifications of erudition, and no one class has the right to look derisively on another class simply because the first has been the longer at school. It does follow however, that those who have been at school longest have advanced themselves into positions of power and affluence where they are mentors instinctively for those not so progressed. As such, they are able to take constructive action for the swifter betterment of the vari-

ous races as components of a more plastic world society. They have values given them as mentors which can be so externalized that even the mentors may profit as well as the pupils. Thus the whole concourse of pervading wisdom can be speeded up until a state of world cosmopolitanism results that makes social concord a matter of the instincts.

This sort of mentorship, I maintain, has been the true basis for all the social progress that man has made to date, bringing society up from barbarism by a method and procedure to which I hope to give some new interpretations before my reader has finished with my book. It has been responsible for constructive mass-thinking as we know it, and it will continue to be such until the end of earthly time. It is all a process of the more advanced commentators and analysts "spelling the multitude" ❀ ❀

For this reason I address myself to them, that Goodly Company of the intellectually elite on every continent and in every nation into whose hands this book may arrive. I say to them: "We have a heritage, a condition, a trust, imposed upon us. We are not group members but members of a Group. Our mission it is, to interpret the imponderables of social trigonometry to those who are graduating from their simple fractions and seeking application of fractions as a study.

In other words, without audacity or intellectual snobbery, by the very essence of our knowledge, we should consider ourselves as those in whose hands world

progress is reposed. We are those constantly given light on dark pathways with the understanding that it is not for our feet alone that such light is given, but for the intellectually handicapped who follow where we lead. We must think of ourselves as lamplighters and beacon carriers who have the moral stamina to explore where the provincial minded, and mentally inhibited, fear to tread in adolescence. We must take the knowledge that is given us and apply it practically, fearing no issue no matter how formidable, analyzing such half-truths as have served as shibboleths to the partially instructed to the present, making ourselves to discern that cultural intellectualism, like beauty, is not for confinement within group limitations, and compelling attention to our assumed attainments by the practicability of them in action.

We mortals as a species, maturing intellectually regardless of our caste, are a peculiar order of creation. We are given to certain principles of expression not enjoyed by other species. We popularly term those principles the "divinity" within us. What "divinity" actually may be, we have no means of knowing so long as our thinking is done in the finite. But this we are aware of—

The human race has some sort of destiny. That destiny is guided by certain controlling factors that taken by and large may be qualified as Government. There are as many types of government as there are compound racial factors to be dealt in. But over and above

them all maintains a sort of Group Consciousness of what is essential for the ultimate end. This Group Consciousness, or "progressive ideal," must not be lightly considered. It is something too deep for cursory analysis, something that merits our profoundest attention. Considered as a trust to the race, it more resembles the Cosmic Sense of Order inherent in every reasoning person and showing itself in submission to a despot as in the deliberative councils of freemen.

It is Government in the abstract working out concretely.

¶ But we as human beings have long since accepted the notion that Government, as such, can only manifest externally in forms of organization. And that is a tenet I refute ❖ ❖

Government considered solely as forms of organization is shown to be colossal in failure wherever it is accepted as the norm of social conduct.

True government, as every sophisticate knows, is true anarchy. And while I hasten likewise to refute the assumption that I am an anarchist in any sense of the term, I do argue that Government as such can never function adequately until the admission is general that man's spirit transcends organization and expresses itself as superior to it—and by expression I mean this: That each mortal soul by its own sense of self-awareness recognizes its true relation to its fellows and behaves with due regard for their equal rights of expression and social deportment.

Government, therefore, is not strictly a thing of rules

and laws. Such are but temporary, or rather for utility, while the spirit is gaining to a recognition of itself in juxtaposition to those around it.

Government in its essence is Self-Control, or abstract repressive deportment, whether it comes from the inherent sense of the rights of others or the fiat of authorities impelling a certain mean of behaviorism that the greatest good may accrue to the greatest numbers.

¶ We are all infants in Government that is confined to organization. We have tried this and that, over the ages, and found nothing wholly suitable to care for the multiple and complex desires of evolving human beings in their individual integrities. Each new race and cycle have been responsible for their own experimentings. Perhaps we can say that we of today are the inheritors of the profits that have come from these experimentings. In a measure it is true—insofar as we admit that Government as we find it in this world has gone through evolutions or improvements at all.

But all of us have possessed from the very beginnings of ourselves—deep within our consciences—a desire to be treated in a certain way by others. We recognize the sense of obligation involved in expecting this treatment to turn about and admit certain concessions to our fellowmen everywhere. So Government manifests in our own subconscious workings, day unto day and hour unto hour.

It is with these distinctions carefully emphasized, that I purpose to fill the pages following with some concepts

of Government as "spiritual control in action" and lead my readers through some phases of interpretative psychology to a beneficial understanding of the causes, expositions, and possibilities of the factors within society that can influence and direct humankind toward a more sublime realization of its temporal residence.

It is time that we examined these factors and did them justice. Too long have they been neglected, or ignored, to human hurt ❀ ❀

THE SECOND DISCUSSION

NATIONS - IN - LAW

✻ THE SECOND DISCUSSION ✻



O LET us stroke into our study by first examining such phase of government as is based purely on principles of Law and Order, instead—as some folks delight to put it—on the Will of the Majority. Then, second, if there be true government by the Will of the Majority, why

the necessity for the phenomenon known as Leadership? ¶ Without attempting in any way to disparage either the integrity or capability of the public conscience, I submit that the Will of the Majority is not only deceptive, but an obvious paradox. Has it never occurred to you that the Will of the Majority implies rulership by a class of people who themselves require to be ruled, else government would be needless and probably not conceived? ✻ ✻

Divine spirits, as such, may be above necessity for government, which is why they are divine. But the average mortal is a rebellious soul at heart. He is the product of heredity, environment, prenatal existences, and a

general voracity in material desire, else he would not find himself on earth to attain to self-control.

Here, then, we have a great horde of mortals inducted into this earthly residence in urgent need of discipline. But therein lies the crux of my whole interpretation: Rarely is discipline deliberately self-wrought. Discipline is a product of carefully worked-out principles based on tested logic and irrefutable evidence of all the factors entering into the individual character but represented collectively by the mass. By this I mean, that you can't have a man prescribe for himself all such attributes as he may require while handicapped by fears, lusts, worldly appetites and passions. You can educate a man over a series of lives and still he will not know what the Body Politic needs excepting as he may in a broad way represent it. So I am going so far as to state a second premise—

Never in the history of humankind on earth has it ever led itself!

There is no such thing as Self-Leadership, I claim. As well talk of the blind leading themselves by sight. The blind are sightless, which is why we call them blind. So too is the individual in regard to self-discipline. But even as the individual blind man may grope and find his way about, calling it sight of a sort, so does humanity grope in government and misname it Sovereignty.

Really this is a hoaxing of the self.

All down the years, however, have come leaders for the races. They have cajoled, begged, fought, and expound-

ed, striving to make humankind recognize and admit its lack of sight. Of course humankind has resented such mentorship—as anyone, anywhere, defends an obvious fault. That does not alter the fact that humankind is instinctively imbued with a willingness to follow leadership. And what is such willingness but admission of the general blindness to which I call attention: the acknowledgment that leadership is mortally essential?

¶ Now then, what is leadership?

Let us arrive at our first definition by discerning what it is not *✿ ✿*



NEVER that leadership does not mean, as so many folks accept, the ability or privilege of giving commands which result in obedience. That is a slavery to formality. Leadership is bigger than that, although such ability must be part of its equipment *✿* Neither is leadership the capacity to inspire others with grandiose ideals. Many men do that, and never reach true leadership.

Leadership is the ability to take humankind wherever—and however—it is found, and make it go in a direction of attested self-improvement!

A forced draft behind human nature is always fatal to the principals involved.

Pure and undefiled leadership, I repeat, is the talent for taking humankind and giving it eyes to see its way, of and for itself. And by this definition the process of

leadership involves factors and attributes not always conceded by leaders themselves. They must have perspicacity, a knowledge of human nature, a cognizance of world trends, and a steadfast belief in themselves as mentors. Still, these are not enough.

They must have an abiding and undubitable faith in the principles of government worked out along these lines—

¶ First, that man is unlimited of concupiscence involving his own interests.

Second, that he has no heart for self-control that attempts to abridge his personal self-expression.

Third, that he knows no authority of earth that transcends his own physical or mental capability.

Fourth, that he will have his own way though twenty of Caesar's legions arise to balk or stop him.

These four points must be kept in mind by any real leader. He is not so much a principal among men as he is a diverter of these factors into up-grade constructive channels ✻ ✻

The leader who attempts to embody social, moral, or political issues in himself and represent them in action, is only omnipotent so long as his favorite doctrines happen to stay popular. But those who lead for the ages are those who build abstract governmental structures on lines of least resistance for themselves by acknowledging the four points above at all times.

So we apparently have a condition in all society of every land where those who lead must swim with the currents of popular inclination but at the same time be confident

of the fact that the general trend is toward improvement of society at large, and that society at large must exist for self-improvement or it is useless and licentious, and therefore lacks cause for being. And to say that society lacks cause for being—that this worldly residence of ours lacks point and purpose—is to refute Mother Nature who makes nothing without reasons in measurable fact ❀ ❀

As natural laws are given for the control of the elements, so are certain laws formulated for the control of society. Those laws are founded on one basic principle: That mankind is forging toward relative perfection, therefore we have reasons for his earthly visitation ❀ To assimilate this premise until its presence is an instinct in his character is the fundamental tenet that marks out the leader.

All the same we must descry that the leader always comes in answer to a need. That need is often so abstruse that it seems contradictory to discernments of fact. It is necessary in logic for a leader to lead. But what perforce, is happening? Always mankind is groping, and sometimes more than groping. Sometimes mankind is being deliberately enticed into vicious error or retrograde tendency. Leaders therefore appear at such times, at the call of something within themselves that transcends human ingenuity, perspicacity, or knowledge of their courses. They are usually, but not necessarily, men of education. But more than all else they have what the great mass of humanity ordinarily

lacks: Nothing more and nothing less than Spiritual Foresight ✻ ✻

By Spiritual Foresight I mean the capacity to read the present in terms of the future, that the future may be realized in terms of the present!

You cannot have society forever blundering and getting nowhere. Always and forever there must be an upward trend. But that trend is as much a part of the future as of the present, and vice versa, as any schoolboy knows ✻ ✻

Leadership then, consists in making men see: first, that there is a trend; second, that it must be followed constructively toward a higher level; third, that there must be as much attention paid to the path by which the higher level is reached as to the level itself—for it is the level's complement.

The real leader does not try to persuade men into anything—unless he be a fool with animal spirits to indulge. The real leader has visions which come from sources which the present spiritual blindness of mankind will not allow to be accredited.

No matter.

These visions enable the leader unerringly to mark trends. Moreover, they enable him to read the present in terms of the future. But he does not rise up, waving his arms to divert humanity like a policeman at a crossroads. He calmly and judiciously withdraws into himself and asks: "What is the best way to make humanity see of itself what I see as profitable for it?" Then

he gives instruction to humanity in terms of the inspiration that has come to him in turn.

The ordinary "leader" digs a pit for his own feet when he says to humanity: "Do this!" or "Do that!"



Wise leadership, true leadership, says to the race, "You have within yourself factors for the solution of every quandary that besets you. Suppose we examine them together and decide what seems best in the light of our knowledge. I give you of my opinion than it is thus and so . . . "



TURNING aside here for a moment to illustrate these suggestions here in America, we have problems of "self government" which madden the throng that considers itself the court of final adjudication on all matters annoying the Body Politic. Such questions, I mean, as the right of the States to determine federal laws, the rights of individuals in certain localities to prescribe for themselves as against the commonwealth, the rights of vested interests to do as they please because there seem to be no powers capable of thwarting them, the ambitions of large numbers of demagogues to make themselves of prominence, the wishes of large numbers of goodly people to see righteousness prevail by force—and the mistakes of equally large numbers of earnest souls who believe that a righteous end justifies a dishonest or infamous means. These problems comprise the Local Option issue, the dangerous arrogances of so-

called trade unionism, legislation against various forms of vice, the tendency of certain churchly hierarchies to dominate in secular affairs, the right of minorities to designate the behavior of majorities, the strategies of non-social races like the Jews to master the peoples of Christendom even though such megalomania precipitates the worst pogrom in their history.

Grave questions, these are, striking at the very roots of current Civilization—which, by the way, is another deceptive term.

I say there is no such thing as Civilization in its broadest sense. There is only social evolution. What is civilization to one generation is the rankest barbarism to the next  

Nevertheless, these grave questions designate the degree of our social evolution and demand the highest leadership. That is, they demand the capacity on the part of certain individuals to recognize trends, to determine policies, and to herd humanity like a flock of willing sheep toward a magnificent attainment. If the sheep metaphor be resented for the moment, put it that humanity is not unlike a horde of children on a crusade to reach a Holy Sepulchre of their physical idealism. They have the desire to better themselves, which is the true reason for their being in life at all. But they cannot embark on the crusade unless there be the requisite number of persons like Peter the Hermit to show them that the crusade is desirable at all. Thus Peter the Hermit was the real leader of the medieval Childrens'

Crusades, not the captains with the banners who headed numbered cohorts.

To get back to our problems in modern America, true leadership requires that certain persons avoid being demagogues and turn instructors, not dogmatists but logicians of such simple profundity that the most ignorant slum dweller knows what government is all about.

¶ I say this in kindness: There are scarcely six leaders on this basis in all the United States today, and less than a score throughout the whole earth! That is why humanity is so sorely confused. That is why it plunges blindly forward into such cataclysms as the recent world war. True, the world war was deliberately precipitated by leaders of a sort. But it was an introvert, negative leadership that besought selfish enhancements for a little racial clique that when finally unmasked and identified may easily result in physical annihilation of the breed. On the whole I would say that instead of being leadership it was approximately sorcery.

Humanity demands leadership that has in it the element of social truth married irrevocably to clarity of expression. Until that comes, the nation is at the beggary of circumstance and the prey of popular passions.

But how to find such leaders, and how to recognize their worth in performance? . . .



THIRTY years or so ago, the United States was treated to the advent of a man who made a record in American statesmanship second only in importance to the leadership of Lincoln's. Theodore Roosevelt, much as I personally deplore many of his bombastic theatricalisms, was a true leader of the type I am expounding, who tried to utilize not to explore, to direct not to augur, to decide for the nation what was natural and proper in the line of its destiny and epitomize men's opinions toward that end, not to do as his namesake of later years has done: make a grand gesture at leadership while all the time surrendering that sacred prerogative to a little knot of schemers who capitalize on their control of his office to enhance themselves and alien compatriots at Gentile expense.

The first Roosevelt was unique in this: that he seemed to explore, to augur, to manifest, while all the time he showed his true capacity for heading a mighty nation by letting others have the rein so long as they drove in a path that led upward.

Theodore has gone in personal influence but his spirit lives on in memory of true mastery. He was the arch-enemy of Privilege, the archangel of the public sovereignty inspired and guided instead of compressed and flogged into regimentation and other political and social channels which have been many times tried in history and always proven failures. He was the living embodiment of my contention, that mankind not only needs

leadership but aligns behind such willingly when it has full confidence in him who directs.

Again I say there is no such thing as a people, even in a republic in the modern manner, governing itself by the "will of the majority" . . .

The first Roosevelt ruled this nation with a hand more despotic than that of Mussolini's, "getting away" with things that from a lesser man would have been so challenged as to land him in a predicament more embarrassing than Kaiser Wilhelm's. But he knew his craft. It was born in his soul. He said to men not "Come!" or even "Press forward!" He said, "Let's all go together and have a bully time!" As such he fulfilled an ample destiny—the most colorful, the strongest and most personable President since America lost Abe Lincoln 🌿 🌿

He led by assimilation of the future in terms of the present 🌿 🌿

Consider his namesake, skyrocketed to a theatric popularity like any Hollywood blonde, making lacrimose radio appeals that his people do this or that, ruling by a manufactured duress that must have an obedient popinjay Congress to automatically legalize each recommendation that is slyly slipped into his mind by any ulterior interest that can gain to his ear, experimenting on the living body of the American commonwealth with the same menace that attends an operation on a human body by a drunken surgeon, and sending corner tailors and barbers to jail for not acquiescing in his regimented

nonsense. What a satire on mentorship for a great but bedeviled people!

Of course the phenomenon of the second Roosevelt is but an incident in the Republic's history—and mayhap a very passe incident by the time this book reaches readers' hands. But the records of the two men are forever engraved on tablets of history and must ever remain there, no matter if the country itself is brought down to the dust.

Men forget in either their heroisms or ribaldries that they are mirroring their true selves on facades of materials that are harder than granite, and that the reflection does not vanish with the vanishing of their bodies. ¶ Strong men are institutions, enduring in the heart if not in the basalt.

Weak men are curiosa, exhibiting to posterity which world-paths not to take!

THE THIRD DISCUSSION

NATIONS-IN-LAW



THE THIRD DISCUSSION



ANOTHER who read arightly the Signs of the Times—which means everything and nothing—was Calvin Coolidge. Calvin was less spectacular than Theodore. He lacked the latter's magnetic bombast. Coolidge, however, had the gift for guiding men along lines they chose

to go—so long as it was upward—yet letting them appear to direct their own affairs.

Leaders, it is said, are born and not made. Never was profounder truth uttered by men's lips.

This birth of leadership, however, cannot be an accident.

¶ One of the first things giving sight to the race in great matters of social policy is to admit that all men are not endowed alike with capacity for leadership.

It would be equally as absurd for the students of a given college to declare that they have the wisdom of their professors, as for the mass of humankind to think that because there is a mass in the majority that it therefore becomes omnipotent of discernment in matters of public

policy—or that the mass of itself breeds the leader from the very fact that he is born amid the masses.

I will not even admit that the mass has anything to do with giving such a one the opportunity for attaining unto leadership. If this were true, the greater the mass, and the wider its social license, the more leaders would be developed.

Nothing of the sort is evidenced by history.

Understand me, this is by no means an argument for autocracy. Nor am I endorsing the sovereignty of royalty. Autocracies and royal houses are often necessary so long as humankind exists in its present imperfect state. But there are autocracies and autocracies. And there is royalty and Royalty. Each of these of a political order are usually based on force of arms, abhorrent to freemen whether temperamentally “blind” or not ~~the~~
¶ I declare, if you please, that there is autocracy and royalty of another order based on Force of Intellect—from which the real leaders are always recruited—far advanced beyond the ordinary run of mankind because its members have lived longer before coming into the mortal coil as each generation knows it. But these intellectual autocracies and royal houses have no more right to the credit for their knowledge, perspicacity, and social wisdom, than an old man has the right to lord it over an untutored schoolboy. The former is the natural product of mere experience and growth.

The fact remains that humankind is divided into two classes: Those who are born with a preponderance of

social equipment, and those not so favored in point of earthly time. And just as everyone not so born is not necessarily a leader because he may be intellectually inferior, so the average run of humankind is not necessarily capable of directly itself merely because the prevailing political order furnishes opportunity.

This, of course, is a somewhat bitter pill for the man in the street to swallow. He likes to think of himself as omnipotent to direct his destiny because he exists in numbers. But this is creating an autocracy based on a type of force. Consider his salvation—

Given a group of human beings, invariably in that group will be one person, or sometimes a number of persons, who adapt themselves to leadership by a sort of eager instinct. Who are these people? Why should they function? Why not any hit or miss selection from among the seething populace?

I would introduce a new and perhaps novel factor into political thinking when I say, that my own researches have led me to believe that the same Divine Intellect that made laws for the natural world has gone still farther and made unchallengeable laws for the world we call social. And the first and the greatest of these laws for the social world is, that no group is permitted to exist—that is, come into actuality in physical life—without its mentors.

That seems to be a natural social law as indubitable as that a flock of wild geese shall not, and does not, attempt to migrate without a leader at its apex.

These people cannot "just happen." I submit that they do not "just happen." Disregarding for the moment those procedures by which they come into occupancies of their earthly heritages, they are endowed by and from some Higher Authority with certain attributes setting them apart from their fellows. And, . . . mark this! . . . in a democracy there are more of them because the need for them is greater. That seems to be the rule. But the democracy itself has little to do with either breeding or evolving them. Until people get over the notion that there is anything infamous or necromantic in such structure, they will always muddle and stumble in government.

Leadership is an attainment, but not as men think of attainment in one small life. I advance the fraught conviction that it is rather an endowment built up from vast experience over long cycles of time, and remaining with those characters who have the capacity for profiting most richly from such experience. Which might be another way of stating that leaders are practically members of a Cosmic Order, whether or not they are consciously aware of it.

Until people accredit such benefaction they are going to bring upon themselves an increasing amount of spiritual bedlam.

Considered in the cosmic sense, leaders have "attained" to their positions, it is true. But they have not done so in the sense that any Tom, Dick, or Harry, becomes a "leader" simply because he is clever at fostering incite-

ments. In a democracy this means what? It means that there is no such thing as a "demagogue leader," the essence of demagoguery nullifying leadership . . .



THE AUTOCRAT of the sword eventually makes way, or gives way, to the autocrat of the intellect. The autocrat of the intellect cannot be suppressed or dethroned by ballot-stealing, secret police, or political mutiny. It is true that all sorts of attempts are made—and many of them are seemingly successful for a time—to ignore him or keep him from public attention. But the more pronounced the intellect the more autocratic will be its power, though scarcely ever exercised with the effrontery of the jingoist.

Democracy in its Utopian sense being properly an autocracy of intellects, it is therefore little more than a catch-word in essence, a bagatelle for orators. In active practice quite the contrary is the truth. Democracies are commonly considered heterogeneous organisms directed by mob judgments. But what really happens is, either an intellectual autocracy triumphs or anarchy results ❀ ❀

Today in America we have anarchy of the most virulent type because mankind has a perniciously encouraged tendency to crucify its autocrats of the intellect, not by dragging them through the public streets and nailing them to crosses outside the city limits, but by mistakenly ignoring them, avoiding them as prigs, making small

effort to understand them, and forcing them into academic cloisters while childishly raising up Mr. Average Man as the standard and epitome of social and political acumen ✂ ✂

Understand me, by no means do I imply that all occupants of academic cloisters are necessarily autocrats of intellect, and that pedantic theorists should ever be allowed to play the roles of men who have gained to their places of worth by the hard and bitter roads of practical experience.

I made the statement that because a great predatory clique sees its greatest menace in an autocracy of intellectual giants, so the public is not only encouraged but maliciously trained to disparage and ostracize them, to make them take sanctuary in sacristies of learning, to laud the mass sagacity of the vulgar yokel, playing up to his caprices, inhibitions, and inferiority complexes, and misnaming it "government of the people, for the people, and by the people."

Again I prophesy that when the race finally awakens to the extent of its bilking in that regard, the reprisals are likely to be terrible to contemplate . . .

We have another condition too in present-day America where people resent any interferences with their animal liberties because the general level of intelligence seems so low that they cannot read Liberty in any other sense.

¶ This is a state more responsible for this prevalent anarchy than any other factor affecting modern society. Men, of course, resent fiercely any attempts to force

them into godliness, and I for one commend them. I say that those who would so force them are transgressing natural law as unerringly as though they jumped from a cliff, or before a hurtling train, expecting no destruction to follow as penalty.

Humankind can climb towards Utopia only by gradual and general elevation of spiritual standards, not by freak processes of fiat legislation!

The spiritual standard must always come first. It must contain ingredients as powerful and effective of enticement as any of the tendencies that pull men into retrograde. The job of America's new leaders is to pay heed to this great natural law as it applies to human nature.

¶ Leadership is more than a responsibility. It is more than interpretation.

It is an intelligent analysis of social trends and a warping, chiseling, and shaping of them onto high and attractive levels.

Judged by this standard is it so impertinent to declare that there are scarcely half a dozen leaders in America today? I do not refer to the so-called Intelligenzia, largely made up of ambitious young Jews and Jewesses who have purloined Christian names and strut in their camouflage as a caste before the public. I do not refer to the so-called Intelligenzia that are ribald intellect sharpeners, blossomers of pragmatisms, freaks of erudition. I mean souls of such cosmic experience, wisdom and sobriety—spirits of such salubrious worth—that they can attract and hold the attention of mankind

while inveigling the race's thought up onto tablelands of righteousness.

These are the true Intelligenzia, and they do not gather about Algonquin luncheon tables, or strut in the Sunday supplements. And wherever they get the true chance to function they inevitably make history.

Of course this dearth of leaders is not humanity's fault and it might seem for the moment that I am contradicting my premise by charging the Almighty with a lapse of performance. But am I? It stands to reason that the lower the level of spiritual intelligence, the fewer the numbers of true leaders will be, my argument having it that a low level of spiritual intelligence requires fewer leaders to guide it.

Please make a careful distinction here between "a low level of spiritual intelligence" and government in the democratic form.

I said that in a democracy there were more leaders because the need was greater. It requires no fleshly Academy of Immortals to head a movement of Russian peasants. One husky Cossack could probably get more effective followship than a dozen Keyserlings or Emersons, whereas conversely a thousand men of their intellectual attainments would be more at home in a democracy as a greater arena for their talents than under a regal autocracy where their very talents might disturb the existing order.

A country of high spiritual intelligence by its very essence manufactures more diversified and impelling in-

tellectual objectives requiring mentoring to attain ✿
Humanity therefore is not to be castigated for something it has had no hand in projecting. But all the more reason that when such leaders are sent, they be given more respectful attention, not pulled down by demagogues to as near the common mean as possible ✿ ✿
¶ True democracy, as maintained in ancient Athens, ought to be considered not a type of political structure but a field for perception of intellectual leadership. It exists, where it does exist, that humanity may have freedom of will and opportunity to go forward at the behest of intellectual autocracy, not to escape all discipline altogether, even that which is seemingly self-enforced ✿ ✿



AND YET, strange as it may seem in the light of the foregoing, it is usually the autocracies and not the democracies that are most benevolent toward the outstanding intellect. Autocracies, however selfish in personnel or movement, usually aim at some constructive end though it be nothing more than their own perpetuity. The essence of their functioning commands that they move forward. Stagnation makes them vulnerable and prey to competitive influences. Autocracies are seemingly benevolent toward outstanding intellect because, as governmental patterns, they must pay it attention for one of two reasons: to bastion their own positions and augment their own vitalities, or

keep outstanding intellect in some form of subjection through cultivation and thus draw the fangs of its potency to do damage against themselves ✱ ✱ ✱ Where they make their tragic mistake is in thinking that there is an affinity of interests between an autocracy of intellect and an autocracy of political form merely because they are both autocracies. As a matter of fact they are diametrically opposed to one another, which is why a preponderance of intellect in any autocracy of force usually results in the democracy phenomenon ✱ ✱

And while we are thus discoursing, just what is an autocrat? ✱ ✱

I would define him as a personage so sure of his material or spiritual premise that he can afford to give the effect of disregarding every form of competition or criticism, and deport himself as though all mankind believes exactly as himself.

This may be a somewhat different interpretation from what Noah Webster offers in his well-known compendium of definitions. Webster says: "An autocrat is a supreme ruler whose power is unrestricted and irresponsible" ✱ ✱

I maintain that this definition better fits my description of a popular democracy than any scheme of life pursued by some momentary dictator who must conform to certain laws of human nature or ultimately find himself in some rear alley spinning on his neck annoyingly entangled in a maze of Sam-Brown belts.

Now most people assume that autocracies must naturally be bad because the military autocrat enforces what the citizen would protest if he had the power to make his voice effective.

Autocracy has an odious aspect because it has been practiced with executive insolence.



Eliminate or foreswear the insolence, and autocracy is interpreted in terms of Duty, Allegiance, Manifest Destiny toward an ideal expressing continuous strength.



¶ The autocrat of intellect, not employing the mailed fist, is too seldom recognized for precisely what he is. By velvety inveiglement he utilizes the idealism which is the spark of divinity in every man to bring out of social chaos a workable plan for spiritual achievement.

¶ Men are men, no matter how helpless or degraded. They have a spark of the Infinite Godhead in each of them. When you enslave them you enslave that spark, fifty times more destructive than dynamite. It cannot be done permanently, which is why all autocracies based on force sooner or later crash down in debris.



When you have an autocracy of intellect, making its preponderant power felt in action, you usually have something that approximates true public sovereignty. And when you have true public sovereignty that is constructive in its movement, you have a field of force that is constantly operating toward the evolution of ideals. Bear this in mind, however—

Those ideals are ever interpreted by certain Master Spirits ❀ ❀

America, for example, has a mission to fill as a political entity among the nations of the world. It is not a mission to hold up before those other nations the shibboleth of national license or international snobbery. America's mission is—as I see it—that she shall be a bright and shining light to all other races of the earth, showing them the true significance of a unity of interests combined under a pacific political form that permits spiritual ideals to work out in action under intellectual autocrats  

For those intellectual autocrats will function, which is the essence of any sovereignty, American or otherwise. They will ultimately hold the reins and drive the public chariot whether the populace assents to it or not  

¶ All of which constitutes my argument that our present American sovereignty, whether you want to give it the name of a republic or a democracy, is not truly such until it abandons its anarchy, recognizes the true tenets of leadership, opens the cloisters where it daily imprisons real intellectualism, and gives free driving license to those with the true capacity for driving.

¶ The tendency at present, as I have said, is to discredit the leader because he is the leader and to hoist Mr. Mediocrity onto the pedestal of popular acclaim  

¶ We follow this tendency because it is put before us as the only one to follow. And it is put before us as the only one to follow, because the predatory faction sees a fatal menace to itself in letting an aristocracy of intellect come to the fore. Particularly is this true in

political matters where it may be free to exercise its sagacity in practical antagonisms.

The predatory faction, mainly alien, has now attained to such subtle eminence by ensconcing itself in finance and journalism, that it can clandestinely determine who is going to be elevated to positions of political executive-ship and just what they are to do when their elevation is effected ✱ ✱


It can therefore ignore, or have ignored, or break by criticism or ridicule, those who will not show themselves amenable to its dictates—which true autocracy of intellect will not.

We are treated consequently to a government by nin-compoops—little men in heavy harness—and we wonder which is wrong with our republican institutions ✱

¶ We are a government of the people, for the people, and by the people—maybe. Most of which means nothing but a platitude of rhetoric, the absolute negation of true public sovereignty in sense, logic, beauty, and actuality.

Really we have descended in these catastrophic years to a government of the people, for the promoters of a super-Jewish world state, by agents of calamity, maneuvering by violence. And I do not speak cynically ✱

¶ True public sovereignty, I repeat, is nothing other than a field of force in which certain evolutionary ideals are operating, interpreted by certain Master Souls who come from an intellectual oligarchy not accredited by the populace ✱ ✱

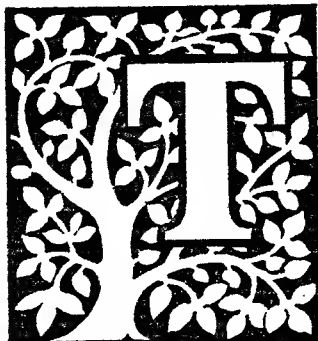
The great Greek Democracy, which the world so much admires—or imagines that it does, not knowing much about it—and to which the demagogues so frequently refer, was nothing more than this in essence. And yet it held within itself the seeds of its own destruction 

¶ To determine what those were, as well as to clarify much of the terminology in these matters which must follow, I would digress from my theme for a chapter and make an exposition of the fundamental difference between Democracy and Republicanism . . .

THE FOURTH DISCUSSION

NATIONS-IN-LAW

✿ THE FOURTH DISCUSSION ✿



HERE are no two terms in our language so inexcusably misused as Democracy and Republicanism. One of the tragedies of our day of nincompoopery in statecraft is to behold some vacuous spellbinder stand before a group as politically illiterate as himself and employ the two terms interchangeably in making his addresses on the American form of government ✿ We are "the grand old Republic" one moment, and "this glorious Democracy" the next.

It is a political execration upon the subversive alien control, that this transposition is not only permitted without challenge but subtly encouraged in order to lend strength to civil bedlam and thus make easier our ethical disaster ✿ ✿

Men of sense and integrity lend themselves to such tragic blither. Thereby do they reveal how pitifully little they know of the once-great principles that actuated the founders of this country. Yet the distinction

is absurdly simple—

In a Democracy the voice of the majority is assumed to rule, and it is largely uttered directly by the citizen who is a constituent part thereof. It makes no difference what the issue, or how the decision works harm to the minority ❧ ❧

In a Democracy, government is effected by the decision of preponderance. Therefore it is too often government by mob mood, public incitement, or mass hysteria.

¶ In a Republic—assuming that it is a true republic—an attempt is made to get the same general effect, but minus the derogatory factors of mob mood, public incitement, or mass hysteria.

A class of officials known as “representatives of the people” is chosen by popular franchise. These officials are a popularly appointed ruling class, distinct and inviolate unto themselves during their tenure of office, who are theoretically supposed to conduct the public affairs for the greatest good of the greatest number and yet decide all questions with sympathetic regard for the rights and forfeitures of minorities insofar as is practically possible ❧ ❧

A Democracy is government of a people by themselves without intermediaries, and according to the public caprices of the moment.

A Republic is government of the people by a quasi-professional law-making and law-administering caste, which they have deliberately created to do their ruling for them ❧ ❧

Of course both have their advantages. Both have their detriments. But no true Democracy has ever long endured because, as I mentioned before, it contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction.






SUPPOSE, to illustrate, we have fifty men cast away on a desert island with sufficient acumen among them to decide that some form of government must come into force to mitigate natural antagonisms to company proposals that are bound to be advanced. They will install the perfect Democracy. In that perfect Democracy the vote of the majority shall constitute the law ❀ ❀


That means that forty-nine of those hundred castaways must at all times, and under every condition, implicitly obey the other fifty-one. Theoretically one man's voice in such a state of affairs will determine the behavior of the whole company if half should vote to adopt one expedient and half should vote to adopt another. But would anyone who knew anything at all about human nature expect that they would do it? They would have to be supermen in their moral and ethical attainments to countenance such numerical technicalities, especially if their passions were aroused.

Suppose that a cask of liquor were suddenly washed ashore. Suppose that practically one-half the company wanted to drink the liquor in order to forget the menace of a colony of savages that might paddle across from a

neighboring island and exterminate the lot of them. But suppose fifty-one men out of the hundred said, "No, we will smash the cask and turn the stuff into the sea, that we may preserve our faculties, and thereby our vigilance, and thereby our lives."

Would men who may have been addicted to drink before landing on the island suffer to see such wastage happen? Frenzied for a stimulant denied to them for months, all the fine theories about Democracy, and abiding by the will of the majority, would go by the board. A fight would ensue in which many might be killed  Or suppose, on the other hand, that it was a chest of potatoes that had been washed ashore while scores in that colony were suffering from scurvy. Suppose that fifty-one wanted to conserve those potatoes and plant them to get more—thereby assuring themselves of a plethora of food—whereas forty-nine wanted to consume those potatoes immediately in order to save their lives  

The majority might have its way and many of the minority might perish from that scurvy. Doubtless some sort of compromise should be made, and in practical application would be the order of the day.

Instead of a pure Democracy, however, suppose that those castaways agreed to support a small Republic. They would vote to repose their sovereign rights as individuals in the hands of five out of their number, who should either hold office for a stated time, or during general good behavior—that is, efficient executiveship 

If those five had the supreme jurisdiction over the ninety-five remaining—although elected and empowered by a majority vote among the hundred—they would doubtless say, when the cask of liquor came rolling ashore: "Each man can have a quarter of a pint a day as he may relish it, until the whole is gone. That amount will injure no man's faculties or his vigilance. It may, on the contrary, stimulate him to a better vigilance than ever. So we will keep the cask in our possession and control the spigot, thus assuring fair play and honest potions allotted to each."

Although there might be grumbling, there would probably be no fight. Momentary passions would cool. The ninety-five would ruefully agree that the proposal was based on sense. And the same would operate in the matter of potatoes. "Those who would otherwise die of the scurvy may have one potato apiece," they would decree. "The rest of the potatoes must be preserved for planting in the spring."

It makes no difference how theoretically fine a Democracy is on paper, men's passions are men's passions. When one group of men want a thing and another group declare they cannot have it, a contest is produced. Numbers do not always mean the strength to dictate the day. Twenty strapping giants might make mortal sausage of eighty sickly striplings and seize the liquor or potatoes at their pleasure. And the same thing goes for a mighty or complicated State.

The pure Democracy is a rule by factions. Although the

most powerful faction in point of numbers may indicate what the decision is to be, the remaining faction, or all the remaining factions, are going to intrigue, or fight at once to challenge the permanency of decisions

¶ In nine cases out of ten, in the resultant conflict, the Democratic State itself will be swept from existence. So long as men hold differences of opinion on any subject under the sun, discord will ultimately break into the open and require to be settled by muscles or armaments.

¶ Human nature is composed that way, and we did not compose it, so all that we are called upon to do is to take it as we find it and try to understand it.

The United States of America is not a democracy, never has been a democracy, and cannot become a democracy and very long endure.

The United States of America, from its very inception, has been a republic and it is as a republic that it has founded and sustained the American political structure and become great, prosperous, and united.

It could have gone on being great, prosperous, and united, if this subtle and insidious alien attack had not come, more deadly than an attack by any foreign battleship because it cannot always be distinguished for the deadly thing it is.

Instead of permitting us to uphold the ideals of republicanism, and create a quasi-professional ruling caste composed of men of integrity, stamina, and public worth, we are hoaxed and deceived. We are introduced to a species of retrograde "high-priestism"—an effeminate,

oriental caliphate—premised on racial megalomania, that would discourage all initiative, whittle all men down to the one common mean, make puppets out of evolving freemen, and return us to an exploded political barbarism that has only introduced ruin and stagnation wherever it has been tried.

Yet it is hailed as “progress” by political parrots, satraps, and flunkies, who lack the faintest notion of what the skullduggery is all about.

It is time to reestablish the true doctrines of Americanism and make sharp distinctions in our political nomenclature ❖ ❖

This nation is a republic.

The Jews would make it a democracy to despoil it!

THE FIFTH DISCUSSION



NATIONS-IN-LAW



THE FIFTH DISCUSSION



N considering public sovereignty—or the right to determine their own form of government on the part of any people—in terms of a republic, it is necessary that its citizens bear two fundamentals of civil psychology in mind: First, that those citizens have not created that republic of themselves but have had help from Nature in the matter of terrain and opportunities for racial self-expression.

Second, they have been endowed with definite perceptions enabling them to discern what is both opportune and sagacious for them to embrace in the way of government  

They have hitched their political wagon to a star but they must not forget that they of themselves did not make the star; they followed it, or attached themselves to it, as a gift from some higher galvanism of creation, even though they refer to it as "that little spark of divinity" within themselves.

Those citizens must remember too, that whereas republics are reputed as being ungrateful, that is only because each ideal advanced, giving rays to the star, has to be judged on its own merits—outcome under performance—not because it lights the fortunes of some grateful group or potentate.

By this I mean, that light comes to a republic, or to a race, in the form of intellectual precepts which I dare to declare are offered by the Infinite. The republic, or the race, must take them, analyze or dissect them, expound them, and find out their application for maximum profit to the majority, because so many ideals are the offering not of infinite wisdom but of finite mentality. They go unrewarded, unapplied, or uncredited, after a period of time has proven their unworthiness.

Republics are like children, importuning the parent for instruction but turning on the parent when the latter reveals his fallible humanness.

To get an idea firmly established in and before a republic, it is necessary to do two things: First, advance such an ideal as a feature of permanence, presenting the essence of compounding profit; second, see that it is projected not as a whip to strike from behind, but as an enticing mystery to be explored, with a candystick award in its heart for the race.

Take notice that this is exactly what we are well on our way toward consummating in the Silvershirt Movement, in our exposition of The Christian Commonwealth. Returning to my thesis, leadership capable of

acknowledging such postualtes is not to be found in any corner drugstore. It is a divine qualification which leaders themselves too often ignore.

Christ Himself asked, "Whom do men say that I am?"—implying far more than appeared on the surface. It was not doubt of His own divinity, but a careful study of His effect on His audience.

A thousand leaders ask themselves the same question inversely when they demand: "How am I registering? How am I going over?" But the difference between them and the Great Teacher of Galilee is the difference between the savior and the demagogue. The demagogue asks in substance, "How good an actor am I?" The savior asks, "Am I expounding my doctrine by my life?" ❀ ❀

This is all infantile, after a fashion, and yet it is one of the profoundest tenets underlying a republican form of government.

Demagogues are always masqueraders for their financial or social profit. Saviors have no thought for themselves, but immerse themselves completely in their doctrines ❀ ❀

We as a nation are prone to give attention to the demagogue because he is essentially the dramatic individualist. Universality, it seems, is beyond our facile grasping. Moreover, it is the essence of individuality that makes republics, else we would all be for the king and his sycophants instead of for ourselves as citizens, demanding freedom under which to work out our

destinies in self-government ✱ ✱ ✱ ✱
Make no mistake about this: humanity will always love the demagogue because he is so human—at least in his expressions. The salvation of the situation is, that the demagogue as an individualist transcends his followers and sooner or later they pull him down, if for no other reason than malicious envy.

The spiritual instructor, on the other hand, always keeps himself—by his very temperament—a little too high and far above the mass for it to reach him, not alone in his principles but in his attitude toward society. The latter may crucify him, not undersanding him and therefore fearing him, but not through malice in its basic sense not yet through greed or envy to be like him.

¶ Remember, that for every savior who is crucified, ten thousand demagogues are beheaded daily!

Speaking for the moment as a native of America, steeped in its traditions and having given no small account of my stewardship of patriotic inspiration to the moment, I say that what we need most as a nation is not a renaissance of leadership—for one leader could revive the national prestige in the hearts of all adherents, and numbers of leaders do not make a nation great—but a renaissance of followship, not blind acquiescence to spectacular doctrine but intelligent analysis of the leadership that is constantly being offered.

And the first tenet of this followship must be an analysis of the leadership on the premise hereinbefore laid down: A searching exploration into the doctrines ad-

vanced, to determine whether their sponsors are demagogues serving private ends or interests, or Couriers out of the Absolute, offering spiritual enticement for the uplift of our species.

Where are our leaders on this basis?



AMERICA would be appalled at this moment if it could look into the private hearts and lives of its most pampered idols and hear their expressions behind closed doors. A leader is one who leads through utter sacrifice of himself and his life to the discernments that come to him of what his fellows need most ❧
¶ Applying this glass to the mass of so-called leaders on every street corner, the result is stunning from the angle of permanent social progress.

Our erstwhile Prohibition issue was a case in point ❧
¶ It was an issue without a leader. Hence it was the bagatelle of the nation's opportunists—both positive and negative. It was an issue founded on an ideal, but wrongly executed—by demagogues. It was never the expression of a united people rallying behind an enticement, although in certain quarters it became so. It was a rallying place for sentimentality, for demagoguery, for personal interests of a most appalling magnitude ❧
¶ It started with a handful of sincere men and women, led by sentimentality, striving to overcome an evil as old as our species. It gathered momentum when lawless forces saw the opportunity to profit from it—

wolves in sheep's clothing. It never had a basis in spiritual enticement. The enticement it offered was purely economic. It said to the citizen, "Change your glass of grog for this golden coin," whereas the citizen might have had many golden coins and still have been thirsty for his grog. True, it had ethical benefits, but few which the citizen could not embrace in his own right—and at his personal volition—had he so elected.

¶ When a man sincerely desires to be good, national legislation is an insolent superfluity.

Life is not run that way. Advancement in ethics is not gained that way.

Economics never takes the place of the spiritual values, nor could the Prohibition issue ever have become a spiritual value until it appealed overwhelmingly to man's desire to help himself to enduring happiness.

¶ It is possible that in time—as I see it—the Prohibition issue may be settled among Aryans on the plane of so-called sportsmanship. Making a game of an issue is an Aryan character-attribute which all non-Aryans fail to understand. I hold it is a phase of vivid spirituality.

¶ The issue, however, that we are considering is not whether a man may or may not drink his glass of grog. The point I am making is: The American public has small propensity for harkening to wise leadership, and leaders as leaders today rarely display the courage to stand or fall by their convictions.





They dabble in ethics, or are voluble in agitating the various moral virtues. They expect that the public will

form a phalanx behind them. But how many men in America tonight, do you suppose, sponsoring doctrines tending to uplift the race, would stand staunchly for their principles if they knew they were to be literally nailed to a wall tomorrow and left to hang there as targets for mud and excretion?

The man Gene Debs went to prison for his faith. He was a great leader in the finest sense, however much we may disagree with his doctrines as he preached them. William Lloyd Garrison in a previous generation was another who persisted in his doctrine—that black bondage was a crime—though a mob pulled him through the streets of Boston at the end of a rope. Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, John Jay, James Madison, were great leaders of political thought and promoters of the Union idea under the federal Constitution. It took the great Lincoln, however, to stand up amid the stresses of the Rebellion and give true freedom his life.

Lincoln was a spiritual enticer in the finest sense of the word ✻ ✻

In America today are perhaps a scant half-dozen similar in intensity of purpose. But until circumstance supplies them with an acid test for their doctrines, and demonstrates that those doctrines and their lives are interchangeable, the citizens of this republic will continue of necessity to applaud yellow journalists and civil scavengers, political hucksters, and moral sycophants. ¶ This is the great test of leadership, that the times ripen with great issues and that leadership interprets

them in terms of constructive action with the personal
reward neglected or cast out!    

THE SIXTH DISCUSSION

NATIONS - IN - LA W

THE SIXTH DISCUSSION



THIS something to think about. ¶ The times ripen with great issues, I say, surpassing in importance those of any period since the collapse of the Roman Empire. Unfortunate it is, that we are disdainful of any truly trenchant study of them, because they confront us in their political aspects ¶ The human race the world over is disgruntled at issues having the political aspect, first because politics—as politics—is synonymous with chicanery; second, because any political study has the nature of exploration into the civic abstract, and to the Man in the Street the civic abstract butters no parsnips. Also, speaking for America at least, politics expressed in the human equation is interpretable chiefly as demagoguery and jingoism. It is everybody's business and therefore nobody's business ¶

It is a sort of civic cancer that we assume must be tolerated in the social body and the less attention paid to it

consciously the less distress it inflicts as a ganglion.

¶ Truth to tell, we need a new word to take the place of Politics in the languages of peoples all over the earth.



¶ Psychologically, the word itself is antagonistic to the emotions. It is a technical word that expresses sheer Form. It has no aesthetic values, being as coldly impersonal as Greek syntax. It calls up in the eye of the mind an obnoxious system that is academically external to the individual's daily interests. In such personal application as is enforced, there is the quality of Cossack animus—which supplies exactly the amount of bellicosity that renders its potency static in terms of human understanding and of compatibility with the average man's notions of liberty and freewill.

Politics is anathema because it expresses a form of emotional sterility that is abhorrent to a created order whose shibboleth is emotional fecundity.

Bear in mind that this is not saying that no emotion attaches to politics. But the emotion attaching to politics grows from the individual's sense of personal gratitude at some phase of the profits resulting from participation, or his inverse resentment at political misfortune.

Politics—as politics—is merely the hard, glistening machine from which come benefits or iniquities to the average man, and no more love or emotion is wasted upon it than upon any other machine that delivers a product. To turn from my previous dissertation on Leadership and write of practical politics that is the domain of Leadership, is like damming up a river to send it through

a raceway. It sometimes does more damage than it furnishes useful power.

Antagonisms as old as the race must be overcome—or rather, interpreted—and the deeper one delves into the subject, the higher is the wall of antagonism that rears, and the stronger is the consciousness of wrong values concurrent  

Yet we meet with this opposition—strangely—because our surfeit of chicane and demagoguery has caused us to forget that Politics is the science of making government possible, with the least odium imparted by government itself.

You cannot have politics unless you have a people who need governing. But you can have a people who need governing without employing Politics.

Suppose that we attempt a new interpretation of an old, old subject and put it in this way—

Politics is the science of government by diplomacy toward the governed, instead of by autocratic fiat.

Let us see where it leads us.



O begin with, politics takes the governed and makes them the butt of their own caprice, while at the same time accomplishing such measures of self-improvement as may be requisite, desirable, or possible. To meet the issues of the new cycle in human affairs and interpret them aright, however, we should make one radical change in our thinking—

We must get away from the notion, academic if not practical, that Politics is detestable.

Politics is one of the highest of the human arts, inasmuch as it paints permanent pictures of earthly welfare with the muddy pigments of cantankerous human nature *✻ ✻*

Let us understand this thoroughly.

Politics may be subverted to malignant practices. Politics as politics, however, contains much of the divine—for God Himself has to paint pictures of earthly welfare with the muddy pigments of cantankerous human nature.

Understand this, too: Politics in the abstract is often a gesture, but practical politics is far more than gesturing,

¶ It is a business maneuvering toward human organization, for tangible direction of human attributes into a constructive program for human betterment.

When we have accepted that definition we are halfway through all political confusions.

You cannot have Politics without having government—at least of a sort—else it would lose its distinction and

essence. Politics says to the governed: Come and be governed, but consider it a blessing; consider it also a challenge to your sporting attributes.

Politics thus becomes a phase of Spirituality, strange as the analogy may seem.

You cannot have Politics as a practical measure for human advancement without giving it some sort of spiritual twist, for the spiritual values are the permanent values, which is why they are spiritual. Never mistake that! Material and Temporary are synonymous terms.

¶ Politics is the science of going bankrupt materially to acquire a fortune spiritually.

When men have a political problem to solve, it is noticeable that they usually leave it to the minds best equipped to solve it and are satisfied to be told—logically or otherwise—the results of their thinking upon the subject *✻ ✻*

If these results measure up to the instincts of the governed, no more is said about it—or rather, the solution gets popular support—and this queer process is called “government by the masses” whereas it is not government at all.

It is assent to government by instinctive approbation.

¶ The governed not only do not want to think, but they cannot think. They lack the mental equipment—the reasoning machinery—for consecutive logicizing. Logicizing takes generations of experience in any person, being able to compare this Cause with that Result, or that Result with this Cause. The process is long and

involved. The great mass of humankind cannot logicize in its own day to day affairs. By what token or what miracle therefore is it competent to pass on great public questions requiring logic for solution, because it acts enmasse? ✱ ✱

Logic is logic whether practiced by one man or a million. In fact, one million men all logicizing, and getting the same sort of result, would be little short of miraculous.

Logicizing is a process by which old, old minds offer the cream of their experience to whosoever may desire it or may profit from it.

In proof of this, is the evidence that children are never logical. Truth to tell, age itself might be designated as an increasing capacity for logical behavior. But consider this and mark it well—

Logicizing is not thinking.

Logicizing is taking a point or an issue under discussion—or some affliction of the social body—and prescribing for it after a careful analysis of all the factors making it an issue.

Analysis of this character is incomprehensible to the man in the street, however much the insinuation may offend him. He lacks the erudition and the universality of applied experience from many fields and contacts. Furthermore, being an intense individualist, he cannot disassociate his own particular viewpoints on the question or issue, so as to consider it abstractly.

In other words, he reads every issue in paragraphs and

sentences and phrases—and most certainly in words—that have application to his ego. This does not mean that he is aware of himself. It means that he is tremendously aware of the evolution seeking to make him aware of himself.

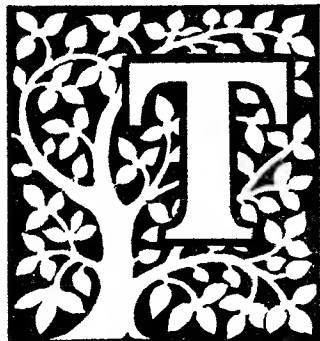
The man in the street is wholly lovable and human. And by the same token that he would not arraign himself for being unable to paint like Rembrandt or Michelangelo, he should not behave petulantly because he lacks the skill to reason like Darwin, Locke, or Kant.

¶ Let us consider the man in the street as his own politician and see where it gets us . . .

THE SEVENTH DISCUSSION

NATIONS - IN - LAW

✻ THE SEVENTH DISCUSSION ✻



HE MAN in the street, first of all, has no background excepting the immediate concerns of family and neighborhood. True, he is conscious of his state and nation and something of other nations. But they have small bearing on his day-to-day life. ¶ The man in the street sees no reason, therefore, for becoming excited over a larger number of people than he can conveniently count between his home and his office. Larger numbers, considered practically, do not exist for him, excepting as something vague and malevolent when they threaten his neighborhood with explosive decrees and judgments.

All of which is to say that despite his newspapers and magazines, his screen news and his radio, the man in the street is inherently provincial. Large numbers of people living at a distance are nothing but a great forest of human trees, susceptible to gales of passion and often uprooted by cyclones of thinking. None the less, the

forest is there, and to the other fellow in the distant neighborhood the first in turn is part of it. Now consider this —

Every forest, whether of trees or of humanity, is likely to have evil beasts stalking within it. By evil beasts I mean creatures who gnaw the trees, topple them, and work destruction of many kinds by dominating sections of it against the approachments of foresters who would do the trees good.

Such beasts are to be found in every forest, and doubly so in the human forest, creatures of evil who delight in malfeasance for its own sake as well as for the passing power that it seems to give them.

The man in the streets does not realize that he is one of the trees in the great human forest, until he has grown so lofty that his mental stature commands the surrounding terrain. Even so, when he attains to that height he recognizes more than ever how many other trees exist—making up the woodlands—and is humbled and gladdened by the universality of his nature.

The man in the street, coming up from an undergrowth status, knowing not his true relation to the rest of the universe, imagines that he and his fellows in the immediate vicinity are peculiar unto themselves. And usually he is right. He cannot perceive whether he is growing in a marsh, or what existence may be like to trees on a hilltop. If he is shag-hickory in character, he cannot interpret rightly what a summer breeze means to a whispering aspen. Inversely, the aspen thinks that

shimmering in the breeze is the substance of life, forgetting that the hickory and spruce and oak are as essential as background for forests in general else the first heavy gale would level everything flat.

Applying such metaphor practically, we find that human life in America as in many other parts of the world, attempts to sublimate ignorance and mediocrity mainly because ignorance and mediocrity are in the preponderance.

The fact that the common people are in the majority carries a certain glorification to those who cannot see otherwise because their lives are circumscribed. There is nothing malicious or malignant in this—on the whole it is bathotic. But in actual practice it retards human progress.

Commonness is not disgusting, because it is a state and not a condition. But it is lamentable that it should seize hold on the general imagination as something worthy of tribute and eulogy.

We in the United States carry this tribute to the point of hero worship. We glorify the average man, not because he is average but because we imagine that our system of government depends upon his whim. So we cajole him.

In certain situations this is necessary, yet considered as a program it is a childish tendency made up of animal fear and sentiment.

The American public is far from being a "herd"—it is much too diversified in temperaments and interests. It

is probably the most facile social body on the entire earth's face, because it is composed of so many different elements. But the American public is unique, in that it glorifies Audacity instead of increment of knowledge. It glorifies splendid show instead of intrinsic worth. It glorifies the demagogue instead of the statesman, and has the motion picture idol for its character-shibboleth instead of the thinker and the conscientious scientist.

This, in itself, is a reaction from a deliberately-encouraged superficial thinking—or rather, no thinking at all in the sense of wholesome logicizing. It is the result of a studious and premeditated anaesthetizing on the part of those who have connived the control of press, screen, and radio, that no serious movement may oust them from their dominance.

Sooner or later the true American, and the disgruntled Christian, are going to find this out. At the present time it only goes to prove that the man in the street does not logicize; he merely utilizes his pensive moments in imaginings and "thinks he thinks," and small blame attaches to him.

Leadership, however, under these conditions is so easy that it is pitiable. Yet the American rises up fiercely when arraigned for lack of discernment in picking out his leaders.

By some weird, unaccountable process, he anticipates that because the nation is not headed by a king and his satraps, because a sort of parlor anarchy prevails in the

enforcement of petty statutes, that a profound wisdom without eyes, ears, or reasoning apparatus will issue Minerva-like from the Jovian forehead of the body politic, and show itself as racial savior in every distressful circumstance.

Most of which is silly.

Forms of government do not bring leadership. Theories of existence do not make for professorships of doctrine.

¶ You cannot have a nation of leaders so long as the man in the street is dependent on his federal administration or his ward political machine to furnish him with brains.

Was it not Carlyle who wrote: Given a hundred scallwags, how to make them a group of honest men? And I believe his answer was: That a common idealism desired by each rogue for his own permanence of person and practice of roguery would effect a system of communal righteousness resembling something like honesty among them.

But this, like a great many other expositions in theory, is only one-half true.



You get righteousness, not by fear that survival may be affected, but by each man ultimately coming to see that his own welfare is contingent on, and concurrent with, the equal welfare of those around him.

It is my conviction that man makes progress as an individual, or as a group, only as those around him are moving in harmony with him. He cannot think of himself as apart from his forest of human trees. He is not

the exponent of himself but of the mass. He must have the presentiment that only as he represents the group or the mass in his own instincts and capacities can he survive as an entity.

I do not mean by this that he must whittle his instincts and capacities down to any level of the herd. I mean that he must perfect his individuality by subconsciously thinking at all times socially.

He must stand out from the mass for his valiant thinking in terms of the mass.

Many men assume that because they are peculiar unto themselves they are peculiar unto the body politic—which is not only error but manifest jest. People are people in that they have similar interests while at the same time having individual tastes and expressions of character—not that they are different as creations of spirit  

Again we go back to our analysis of man in terms of the forest. Certain trees are meant to give backbone to the forest, as the shag-hickories mentioned. Certain others are meant to give aesthetic values, as the aspens. Still others are meant to give utility, as the oaks and the spruces. Taken collectively, a forest results—potent with character yet diverse of tendencies. Each needs the other and the whole is divine.

Life is not a barter of good for evil—or evil for good—with the hope of extracting a profit on the side of the ledger representing righteousness. Life is a giving and taking of Experience—giving of experience to others,

taking of experience ourselves ✱ ✱ ✱ ✱
It is premised on the theory that man is present in it to learn or acquire something which he is lacking—to learn many things of which he lacks knowledge. And chief among these is the consciousness that he is not a unit unto himself, else he might as well be reptile with no community ties whatever.

Man is on earth to learn purity and unselfishness of action in relation to his fellows. A hundred rogues may have a hundred ideals which they think pertinent to survival, and therefore reach some sort of compromise under which they may survive. But the big and real issue between them is: What are we getting out of roguery that we could not get out of honesty?

In other words, it harks back to the relative merits of spiritual values. But do you think for a moment that a hundred rogues are capable of so analyzing themselves in their rogueries that they become arbiters of the destinies of the group? The moment one hundred rogues start logicizing, they encounter spiritualities. These at once prohibit them from being rogues if accepted in Pure Concept.

Rogues are rogues because they are, first of all, ignorant—just as the man in the street partakes of mediocrity through lack of universality in contacts with his fellows. The man in the street knows nothing of universality in practice else we should have a race of giants, intellectually and politically. He is a pigmy at analysis, and the moment he admits it he signs his Magna Charta of

social progress. Before he comes to admit it, the big issue at stake is his lack of cleverness, making itself manifest in egotism to cover his deficiencies in social erudition ❀ ❀

Without this recognition there is no issue.

Mankind stagnant is mankind untroubled by any questions of social policy, either affecting his own good or the improvement of posterity. This smacks of platitude, I will admit, and yet I claim it is a platitude so profound that whole nations are engaged in continually stumbling over it.

Suppose we consider man for a moment as a Thinking Animal . . .

THE EIGHTH DISCUSSION

NATIONS - IN - LA W

THE EIGHTH DISCUSSION



N the first place, what is Thinking?

The metaphysician has one explanation, the psychologist another. The physiologist drags forth his charts of the brain and prates of ganglionic galvanisms. The demagogue mounts his soap-box and rants

of group consciousness and its effect on current issues. Are any of these right, or all of them in error? Yes, what is thinking? What is analysis? What is logic? When the God of Creation gave the human species a Mind, did He do it as a prank? Let us consider Thinking a moment in the light of politics and social benefactions.

¶ Thinking is obviously a two-fold phenomenon of the human consciousness: Reception and Transmission. From somewhere—and for want of a better term let us call it the Infinite—the great thinkers of the race get interpretations of life-practices which they label Ideas. They do not evolve these ideas of themselves. They could not do so, for times without number these ideas

partake of "inspirations" and are composed of ingredients totally foreign to anything within the personal experience of the so-called "thinker" since his birth. Consider what this means.

A man propounds a theory of philosophy or government. He expounds to his audience—be it neighborhood or a nation—certain principles of conduct with which he has had no experience in his life. One of two things must have happened. Either he has had contact with such factors as comprise his argument in some previous existence, and brought a knowledge of them into present existence, or he has been told his information by authorities outside of—and extraneous to—his current orbit in mortality.

The human mind is so organized that it cannot conceive of anything outside of that which it has sensorially observed. On that, psychologists and psychiatrists agree. Now then, what does this mean but that man as Man—and Thinker—has either lived previous lives when such factors comprised a part of his experiencing, or he must admit the existence of conscious entities who supply him with ideas.

The theory that the "association of ideas" gives birth to new ideas, falls down in abstract Logic. The spiritual logician—which the common man is not—knows that there are no such things as "new ideas." All ideas, considered as such, have existed since the commencement of the Absolute, and will go on to infinity. Revelation of their existence is not creation. Everything has always

existed in Thought, else Thought itself would have its limits ❀ ❀

Thought has no limits.

The "thinker" therefore, is not a creator but an uncov-
erer. Or putting it conversely, he is the receiver of en-
lightenments that always have been, and always will be,
existent in Absolute Thought.

If this were not true, then the universe would have be-
gun with the projection of the first man, and man's
thought would be responsible for the universe. No time
need be wasted on this absurdity.

Billions of planets were in existence long before man
had developed a forebrain and commenced the faculty
of Thinking. The planetary idea in itself demonstrates
a previous idea of a Creator. The idea has to come be-
fore the thing that is created. So ideas in themselves
are timeless, ageless. If this were not so, and if the
human mind were the creator of ideas, there would be
no limit to its concoctions. There would be as many
different kinds of universes as there were people to
conceive of them. Instead, the human mind—even
in evolving new hypotheses—follows well-defined
grooves, and works with the same mechanical exhibit.
Its products may vary in external aspects, but the basic
principles underlying them are the same today as they
were in the time of Plato, or in the days of Chaldean
necromancers ❀ ❀

If man could create his own ideas, would not each age
originate so fantastic an assortment of collapsible errors

that there would be no end to the intellectual confusion?

¶ Instead of which, I repeat, we have the phenomenon of the human mind operating consistently after a pattern throughout all ages, creating—in the popular sense—a more or less consistent and circumscribed ideology.

¶ What can this mean but that “thinking,” as such, is a reception from age to age of increasing revelations of some Divine Principle of which each generation through its master intellects gets an expanding interpretation?

¶ Of course the psychologists, ignoring the Great Source, would define even this hypothesis as birth from associated ideas. But if the trend of constructive thinking is studied—back over fifty or a hundred generations—a perfect cycle of revelation will be found to have manifested in each.

A similarity of pattern exists and is pursued. But in each generation the intellectual cycle swings in a little wider arc, or rather, encompasses a little finer examination of truth as before projected.

Thinking then, let us admit in order to get on with our discourse, is a process of instrumentality and not of procreation ✻ ✻

The mind of the ponderous thinker is a great antenna, to receive and transform revelations from the Absolute into programs of mortal action whereby the social body acts in consistency with a destiny that is prescribed ✻

¶ Until we get this clearly, even practical politics is a childish appeal for callow recognition of the ego.

This too should explain—in a measure—why the man

in the street is the tool of politics instead of its arbiter. His faculties are in process of development. His senses are clumsy in attuning themselves to the great Reservoir of Absolute Thought, breaking in waves on the shores of mortality from the seas of infinity.

The man in the street is not to be pitied, not to be condoned with, not to be cajoled, not to be patronized. He stands on his own two feet as a product of etheric principle, asking nothing of the universe but the reception of experience.

If we hurt his feelings by saying this, he is asking our indulgence *✿ ✿*

He stands on his own two feet, I say, with his destiny self-controlled. He can go on getting experience, eating of the fruit of the Tree of Life and Wisdom, or he can cease being a man and return into the great ocean of unawareness of self from which he came in bygone eons. This is but submission of a self-evident fact, which science and theology are painfully ascertaining.

¶ Man is not "created" so much as "projected for a purpose" *✿ ✿*

When he gets that fact straight, he will have made a long stride in explaining to his own satisfaction the so-called woes and tribulations with which he now thinks himself afflicted in the world of mortal flesh.

Man must learn that he has a mission unto himself. There is a saying that "travel broadens the Mind." The so-called world-traveler certainly is more efficient unto himself, and unto society, than the inhabitant of some

mountain-locked village. Then why not conceive—in logic—that physical life is a journey abroad, and that after a fashion each existence is a country visited for improvement? ✿ ✿

No one thinks of resenting the circumstance that he has not been privileged to visit Paris, Rome, or Vienna, and is therefore deficient in his character. The assumption is, that life may eventually be kind enough to permit of a visit to those cultural centers. Meanwhile one tries to absorb the culture of the community which he inhabits ✿ ✿



MARKING back to Politics as a practical example of these expoundings, suppose we concede them for the moment and see what it profits us. Life is a projection by groups—so to speak. We come into it finding ourselves members of a community. That community has evolved certain rules for the conduct of its members, having the good of the whole group at heart. ¶ Right there enters practical politics.

Practical politics is the science of enforcing those group rulings in a manner that arouses least antagonism in each member of the group!

Just as Ideal Leadership is the shaping of human nature into a pattern without human nature realizing it, so politics is the concrete functioning of that leadership—or in other words, diplomacy in action but individually expressed ✿ ✿

Mark this, however—

You cannot have diplomacy in action without a measure of response from the individual, since diplomacy is a form of expediency of conduct when the individual is reacting to the dictates of his fellows.

The individual, being a conscious living entity, must of necessity react in some manner. So politics is forever practical—not abstract.

Politics takes the concrete and obvious reaction of the individual to the group, and makes it of application to practical group progress.

It fosters camaraderies for constructive attainment ✱

¶ It is Mass Reaction, synchronized!

When man reaches a place where mass reaction does not require such, he will have attained to such perfection that life as we understand it will no longer be necessary—the earth-plan will have been consummated, and new avenues of activity, new functions for individual and mass, will be envisaged in other cosmic localities ✱ ✱

It is my profound conviction after no little research, that the day will come finally when this earth-planet will revert to its original gaseous state. But in that day, human life will no longer be human. It will have attained to its evolutionary destiny, and politics as Politics will have become as the mere motion which result when currents occur in ocean expanses. Mark this well—The poets of old wrote, "Man goeth to his long home" . . .

The greatest thinkers have submitted that earthly life is too imperfect to be permanent.

We are creatures of a Phase of Evolution and the end is not yet.

This question of Politics therefore, is purely one of trends. The greatest good for the greatest number is the motif, consistent with the Cosmic pattern yet helping the individual to help himself.

Candidates for office applying their strategies, lamenting their ineffectualities, systems and spoils, bespeaking their impotencies, . . . these are not Politics.

Neither is Politics the trend of any one system of government, comparing itself with any other system ~~to~~

¶ It is mass diplomacy exercised on the individual, making him to recognize his own handicaps—if possible—but certainly inspiring him to make cultural excursions to Paris, Rome, and Vienna of the Spirit.

On no other basis can Politics be tolerated.

Yet Politics has other definitions and interpretations that it behooves us to consider if we are to accomplish an accurate survey of the governmental aspects of our whole Worldly Residence . . .

Let us, for instance, consider Politics as a science.

THE NINTH DISCUSSION

NATIONS - IN - LAW

THE NINTH DISCUSSION



WE DO not go very far into an inquiry of this sort, before we discern that Politics is a science that has inexorable rules underlying its application to human nature.

Science says to human nature: We have investigated social phenomena and find that they resolve into specific principles. Orderly phenomena, by the way, are termed "scientific," although it does not follow that proof of any scientific fact, so-called, is irrefutable, for the science of one age is not the science of another. Indeed, it may qualify as exactly the opposite, in succeeding generations.

But science presupposes order—or duplicate repetition—in phenomena. It seeks to determine the principles underlying such. Applying this analysis to Politics, we find that human nature responds to Politics in set routines of action.

Thus do we designate Political Science.

Politics is really the science of going about govern-

mental business in as orderly and efficient a manner as the human nature involved will permit.

This may cause a cynical smile to those who recall what federal politics seems to be doing today throughout America, setting up a vast soviet bureaucracy with maximum lack of order and efficiency.



But remember that it is never the fault of any science itself that it is prostituted or even violated. Certainly Politics as a science does not take anything from human nature. It does not add anything to man's spiritual side either, excepting that spirituality is always order and chaos has no part in it.



SAYS POLITICS to human nature: You react in definite ways to stimuli of jurisdiction, whether enforced by intellectual leadership, a variety of enticement, or autocratic fiat based on some force. You always have reacted throughout the age to such stimuli in orderly and consistent manner that can be relied upon in every age and under every provocation.

To determine that reaction, its ramifications, its ideals, and its instinctive objectives, is the "science" of Politics.

¶ Now take the practical application:

Men say to themselves: There is no God excepting Science. They mean by this: That there is no God but order. In a measure this is true. At least Politics admits it  

Men say: Science has been responsible for our progress

and endowments; we have achieved what we have, in that we are educated. They do not pause to consider why the education of this generation should be so tremendously advanced over those gone before.

Politics says to man: Regardless of your progress—self-taught or not—there is no God of Order in your affairs excepting as you put Him there yourselves ~~to~~

These two facts taken together result in this: A despairing attempt to force a sort of synthetic order on the social body, to avert the anarchy that would be certain if every man did as he pleased regardless of his fellows. From which comes this interesting equation:

When humankind says to itself: "There is no God of Order or Progress excepting as He is created by ourselves," it follows that the subterfuge of substituting Politics for a God of Order is really deifying Politics and making it the science supreme.

Yet men do not bow down and worship something that is weaker than themselves.

Order in human nature—or in society—is brought about by the social mass paying homage to something that it considers mightier than itself, else men would forever stay gods in their own right.

Science in this twentieth century therefore, is a sort of God—considered under such analysis—because Politics has an effect on the law, order and direction of the human race paramount to all other social ramifications, in that it prescribes the "liberties" and the daily comings and goings of each person.

So it truly is paramount to every other science ✱ ✱
Life would be a sorry mess if this were not so, under the
present dispensation where votaries of every sort are
being resolved into their basic elements or attributes ✱

¶ Strange as the statement may seem, I hold that Politics
—considered from the angle of paramount influence in
human affairs—is the Supreme Science.

This is how I view it—

A thing, or a person, or a government, is only powerful
in so far as it is able to enforce decrees of acquiescence
on an unwilling or recalcitrant opposition. Here we
meet with a strange anomaly: Politics, while being the
Supreme Science and the Paramount Agency, none the
less has no power of itself to enforce its decrees. Politics
cannot run amuck like a phenomenon of Nature, carry-
ing discord and destruction in its wake, compelling
obedience by exertion of blind force. The moment that
it does, it ceases to be Politics and becomes its direct op-
posite: “anarchistic social horseplay” if the term be
allowed. This is exactly what has happened in our era
of the present. It is not Politics that is manifesting in
the federal government. Politics truly has become in-
operative as a science and has been replaced by anarchy
and social nincompoopery. Only the name for this civic
hocus-pocus has been retained.

Politics—in truth—is like the gathering of natural gal-
vanisms that results in electric storms. That which is
generated by such assembly is terrific in its power but
has little meaning otherwise.

We have a "science" therefore, for the moment, made up of rules and regulations for—and of—human conduct, whose power is derived as a result of that conduct and yet originating in it, too.

If we will not concede Politics to be a science on this basis, it becomes undefinable, a phenomena without elucidation ✻ ✻

Politics says to the race: "I am your servant as well as your God. I serve you as well as rule. The minute I serve you not, I cease to be your ruler. The minute I cease to rule, therein I no longer serve you."

This is debatable from the logician's standpoint. Nevertheless it has a basis in fact.

Too long have we thought of Politics as the hucksterings of office, the rantings of demagogues, the blind acquiescence of peoples swayed by prejudices and fears.

¶ Politics is nothing of the sort. It is divine in its essence, in that it has a legitimate place in humanity's affairs, in that it brings order out of chaos, in that it simplifies our living, lubricates the social machinery, and supplies the race with leaders—or rather, furnishes the opportunities for real leaders to display their qualities of leadership.

Politics is an anathema only to the mavericks in human society who resent discipline and show a careless and oftentimes criminal disregard respecting the rights of others ✻ ✻

When Politics says, "This you must do for the good of the mass," it is but subjugating the untempered, undis-

ciplined will of the individual. It says, "You must do this or that," because of the peculiar construction of the pristine human force. This force is always manifesting introspectively, or egocentrically—an introvert phenomenon of consciousness. It is saying, "Unless there be obedience by all factions, there is destruction of myself, whereat I cannot serve."

However adolescent this platitude may seem, until men acquiesce to it there is no such thing as a tribe, or a nation. Mark this well. Kings and legislators are the puppets of Politics, not its instigators, sponsors, or overlords *✻ ✻*

Politics as a science is supreme, else it perishes.

There is no such thing as a quasi-political force. It is everything or nothing.

Politics says, "I am master, but until ye recognize that ye are servants of me, I cannot serve you or cannot profit you one jot or tittle. I am ready to benefit you—generously—but I am a jealous taskmaster and demand blind obedience. I come and go in your daily affairs, always the overlord of everything you do. I effect a control of your spiritual ideals as well as physical movement, manifesting in social compacts all that you desire to accomplish for your race. Unless you act together there is dissolution and discord, but if you do so act obstruction is dismissed."

This is most important in the success of any project, either public or private. Politics becomes more than a force when it is defined as a spiritual ideal exhibiting in

action. It becomes, itself, creator. And while force may be required for creation, force is not creation itself but creation manifesting, applied to human business ~~It~~
¶ Politics as an ideal is very beautiful, figured as a creative as well as functioning energy.

But let us go further—

The Science of Politics dictates that man will respond unerringly to certain stimuli, as a natural law is obeyed by water on a hilltop, running to the bottom.

Politics says to the race, "You believe as yet in no God that tells you how and when to come and go for your personified good, yet you know such discipline is essential. Therefore you invite me among you to substitute for that Deity in daily social intercourse."

Politics says further, "I function on one condition: namely, that I be rendered implicit obedience by the majority and therefore effect one hundred percent servitude" ~~It~~ ~~It~~

Politics says still further, "Except ye be complacent to my dictates, I cannot function aptly."

Right there abuses enter, which we shall presently discuss. First let us take Politics as a thing of votarian regard, as well as an orderly science, and see what it consists of, how it functions, and what are its principles in action, making it a Science. . . .

THE TENTH DISCUSSION

NATIONS - IN - LAW

✠ THE TENTH DISCUSSION ✠



TAKE an apple and place it on the table. You tip the table and the apple rolls off. So long as the supporting forces about the apple are evenly distributed by the tabletop, the apple meets no mishap. Tipping the table, you break the balance of those supporting

factors. The heavier overcome the lighter, or the greater the lesser.

The apple rolls to a hole in the floor. It is bruised and maybe lost. Thereby it ceases to exist for the one who would have consumed it.

The analogy is perfect in the matter of Politics.

Certain supporting forces must be in balance in Politics, or Politics ceases to supply service to the race. Again I refer to the federal government and declare that exactly this thing has happened in Washington of the present ¶ Men rant of "the politics going on in the Capitol." What they truly mean to say is "the absence of politics going on in the Capitol."

The play of these forces, one on the other, is irrefutable so long as Politics sits in the seat of mass control.

The apple on the tabletop did not move toward vanishment, or even toward damage, until one set of forces had outweighed the other. And this play of Force against Force in politics can be studied and assayed . . .

It marks an epoch in the study of Politics when the man in the street comes to realize its function in human activity ✻ ✻

Politics has an errand unto the human race, and the sooner that errand is known and rightly understood, the quicker will be the social housecleaning, and the sooner will humanity be the master in its own house without the annoying and derogatory effects on character, of cluttering debris filling every room where living might be clean and beautiful.

Politics says to the onlooker in the street: "Behold you are mortal, with inherent weaknesses and falsities maintaining from your animalistic evolution. You have a mind that is Godlike in that it conceives improvement abstractly, but it lacks the power of abstract analysis to determine how to act with your fellows and accomplish your destiny toward which, and on which, your race has designs. As a unit you are weak. As a mass you are indomitable. Consider unification therefore, as an enhancement to power.

The onlooker says: "I can see that what you say is true, for I observe about me the strength that lies in cooperation, manifested in concrete result."

This recognition and admission are the first tenet, or principle, rendering Politics a science. From the days of the caveman, humankind has acquiesced to the recognition that two men can do more than one, that one thousand can accomplish what ten would find impossible. That is a law as inexorable as the fiat of any Median prince.

To continue, Politics says: "Look about you, Mr. Average Man, and perceive that ten men working together accomplish nothing of permanence unless their efforts be coordinated. This is simple mathematics applied constructively to social phenomena. One man is powerful, two are twice as powerful, ten men are ten times as powerful as one, but only so as the ten men operate with the one mentality. Ten men operating with ten mentalities are merely ten men operating as ten individuals, or one individual operating in ten manifestations which may or may not be similar in effect. Given the one mind, however, ten men or ten thousand men but enhance the purpose of the one ten times or ten thousand times."

This mathematical calculation is based on Energy, and Energy itself is in essence the Ultimate Divinity in concrete or materialistic action. You cannot conceive of Energy without conceiving of the divine, no matter what its form of employment. Thus you have further evidence of divinity shaping true Politics, and making it a divine as well as a supreme social science. However, to resume our point on mathematics . . .

If that purpose or tenet be universal of truth in its application to the ten thousand as well as the one, the idea or the action has the strength of the ten thousand, for the one. This is the second fundamental law codifying the phenomenon of Politics into a concrete science. For right there enters the factor crudely termed Leadership. ¶ Leadership is the miracle of ten minds, or ten thousand minds, functioning as one mind in ten or ten thousand bodies. For Mind is not Function. Mind is the capacity to determine the Ideal. Function is the capacity to attain the Ideal.

So Politics lays down this second fundamental principle: "We must have one mind to determine the Ideal, but ten, or ten thousand, complementing entities, applying their unit forces throughout every field to bring the Ideal to realization. I make this possible for you by typifying in one specific mind, that which is conceded by ten thousand minds. The leader therefore is not a fanatic capable of encompassing ten thousand minds to grasp control. His is the objective of ten thousand minds, epitomized in one mind. He represents a Trend. And according as he represents it accurately, men say in effect, 'If we concede that this human epitome is representative in thought of that which all of us perceive consciously or unconsciously, then let us ignore the conflicts raised by our ten thousand mentalities squabbling over details and apply ourselves physically to the action which brings about attainment.' "

This is nothing more nor less than Parsimony in Na-

tural Effort, and Parsimony of Natural Effort may be relied upon as accurately as any of the laws of physics determining the behavior of Matter.

Herein, therefore, is the second tenet of the social—and divine—science called Politics: Man will manifest in conjunction with his fellows for a common attainment when he is satisfied that one mind in his group or nation typifies the objective of the mass. He may not always recognize this consciously or analytically, but acknowledge it he does instinctively, and it is an inexorable and irrefutable premise for our discourse.

Politics as such cannot be considered in any other light than as a gesture of the mass to work out its racial instincts. And those racial instincts may be considered in the light of racial, or prenatal, memories of how social matters have worked out previously in practice as noted by the individual who has many times manifested as a unit of the mass. It all harks back constantly to organization on organization, effected through untold millenniums and given pattern of a sort by some Supreme Master Mind which men are soon to realize is the Christ Force overlording all sciences and all laws. More of this later.

There is a third tenet of political science which is no less vital to our thesis and which should now be considered as a potent contribution. . . .

Mankind recognizes that within the mass of ten thousand minds there are factors that need eliminating before any real progress can be made by the mass. These

factors originate in what we call Provincialisms. They decree that men react to certain environments in certain positive ways, and that as all environments cannot be alike so mankind must find the common denominator amid all environments, in order to accept as class benefactions those which distinguish the greater number with the greatest enhancements for physical or temperamental profit.

Taken on this basis, life is a sifting of all the factors entering into the environment and a choosing for the race, of those factors which make up the ideal environment for maximum enhancement. Taken on this basis, too, life is a mass determination of all the factors entering into it and the selection of those which perform the broadest benefits for the greatest numbers. Let us therefore arrive at our Third Tenet making of Politics a positive science . . .

Life says to the individual: "Contribute of your environment that which is best in it as you believe that you have found it. Do not be dogmatic about it. Hold yourself open to a consideration of the other fellow's suggestions. Contribute and examine and decide, but having decided, adhere to the composite ideal."

Strange to say, men will do this. They will quickly recognize faults and discrepancies in their own environments and concede that which to them seems the better because of such recognition of factors in the other man's environment. Given ten thousand men from ten thousand environments, there will be ten thousand contribu-

tions of that which is best and worst in them ✱ ✱
On this basis the Leader Mind will epitomize and enhance the ideal environment, projecting it ahead of the mass as a shibboleth of idealization and attainment. What therefore does he do? He makes of ten thousand contradictory environments—with their effects on ten thousand characters—a composite environment put together from all that is best in each. This composite environment so put together, is nothing short of the "Utopia" of which so much is said in political philosophy. And the leader analyzes for him who is unable to analyze, how this may be attained or approximated in practice. He does not attempt to coerce the ten thousand, saying "Get hence and seize it!" He says "Yonder it is . . . go forward and embrace it!"



OW THERE is a Fourth Tenet, more vital, more significant and more enduring than any of the three which we have mentioned, and that must be the "coordinating influence" over the foregoing three. Yet it must be more than a coordinating influence; verily it must be an epitome of the three. That is the recognition that there is in humankind something that makes for social cohesion, something that says to man "If you do not act collectively, you perish!" This would seem for the moment to be expounding our First Tenet on a larger canvas, and perhaps it is. Yet it operates so differently in practice that it becomes a tenet of itself. Man says, "We have need of cohesion. We know that cohesion as cohesion advances our attainments in exact ratio to the numbers of us involved. We admit that he is leader among us who best represents our collective thought and holds before us our collective cognition of the Utopian Principle." But man says more: "We recognize something else as well. We recognize that somewhere, somehow, man has a destiny that is not clear to us in our present circumstantial observation. We know that we are not mere earth-creatures like the beasts or the birds, full of physical antics and made to parade before Cosmic Intelligence as human mountebanks. We are evolving towards something. That something, that end and aim, may be the Unknowable at present. But over and beyond, and farther than our present assumptions and observations, Something beckons us. What

is it? Where is it? Whence comes it? Will we ever approach or enter it? These questions constitute the foundation stones of all history, all ethics, all religions, all altruistic objectives conceived by the Race Mind. That acknowledgment by man that there is something vaster and more potent in his earthly career for experience than he can conceive in his present limitations, is the adamant rock-floor on which the whole social structure is reared and on which Politics as an exact science can be premised.

Let us get this and get it soundly.

Man has within himself the Call to an Attainment greater than anything else within his concept. Recognition of that is fundamental in his nature. Therein is he demarked from the beast and every other form of organic life. He sees there is more to the universe than he comprehends. He sees there is more to himself than he can analyze with his mortal equipment. He fears the Unknowable, therefore, not understanding what it will do to him or how he can treat with it.

Premised as deeply as hardpan and bedrock in the construction of his nature, is solidarity of action when confronting the Unknowable! The strongest and most potent force which can be brought to bear on human nature, or which can be utilized out of it, is the force of this recognition and man's reaction to it.

Given ten thousand men, you have ten thousand areas or fields of personal panic when confronting the Unknowable. Politics has for its Fourth and greatest Tenet,

therefore, this fruition: That out of the confronting of the Unknowable comes the desire for protection from it, and this desire takes the form of the assurance that if all his fellows suffer equally, the suffering will be divided and apportioned in exact ratio to the numbers involved. One man's crucifixion is terrible, when contemplated by ten thousand men who will know no crucifixion. But ten thousand men, certain of crucifixion, will go toward the ordeal with a song in their hearts—as they have done within our own generation on the battlefields of France. By the same token, they will condone and endure a great public lechery or corruption, saying "After all, we're in it together; it can be no worse for me than for ten thousand others."

Politics recognizes this and utilizes it as its very essence. We give it various names. We call it Mob Psychology, Human Inertia, Moribund Recognition of Destiny, Capacity for Suffering—any of a hundred concepts that stand for pain divided. Great marplots, like those exorcising humanity at present in the economic way, rest their whole strategy of success upon the infallibility of this manifestation of group or national psychology.

Now this has a fundamental cause and premise not to be ignored. It is not that the individual primarily wants to see his brother suffer, or that fellow-suffering actually mitigates personal agony. No, the basic reason for humanity's feeling a sense of protection when all suffer, lies in the fact that the individual essentially fears extinction of his species. Mark that! And so he feels

that personal blundering resulting in pain may be a retribution, or castigation of himself as an individual ignoramus. But when ten thousand men suffer equally, he feels that he is not being punished for individual transgression or personal stupidity. He is but a unit in some universal gesture, having as its end and attainment a destination in the Unknowable.

In other words, the individual feels in the individual case of pain or punishment that he has misinterpreted some law of Nature or ethics, but when ten thousand men go over into the chasm he knows a relief in his self-indictment; the Unknowable must comprise a plan having as its essence the plunging of the ten thousand into the abyss, that at the bottom rare treasure may be found although it be gathered in the discarnate state. I think this is clear.

This desire to escape individual indictment is as fundamental and inherent in human nature as the breathing of air is to physical sustenance. Coming down to Politics therefore, what have we but the same exposition applied to social compacts?

The individual becomes political the moment he attains to earthly consciousness, in that he recognizes the Unknowable in both Nature and human nature. In the face of the Unknowable he says to himself, "I may be wrong in my discernments, but ten thousand of my fellows cannot be wrong in their discernments. Therefore if I act with them, I am relieved from personal responsibility ❀ ❀

From such fundamental reasoning grows all human progress, all social cohesion.

This we must recognize: Politics is the science of human natures acting enmasse for a given objective, either governmental or social, in the sense of environmental benefits. Politics says: "I am your God, elected to show you the Promised Land of Mundane Enjoyment. Living in that Promised Land may bring celestial opportunities, possibilities, and further spiritual conquests. But to reach that Promised Land is the objective of our practical endeavor. So then, if you will abide by my dictates I will weld you into a compact phalanx whose advance through the wilderness of error and doubt and social confusions will be irresistible."

Politics says: "Except as ye pay heed to that which is inherent in your natures as men, you can have neither concept of the Promised Land, mental leadership to traverse the wilderness successfully, nor benefaction in the form of mass cohesion to enjoy it, if, as and when obtained" ❖ ❖ ❖

So men, knowing instinctively these inherent factors in their natures, accord Politics a place in human affairs that cannot be occupied by any other Deity.

But Politics is always practical. Therefore it is often termed gross and perhaps sensual in its functionings. Think of it, however, in this light—

Politics is mass spirituality interpreted in terms of realisms ❖ ❖

It seeks no grandiose attainments that are outside men's

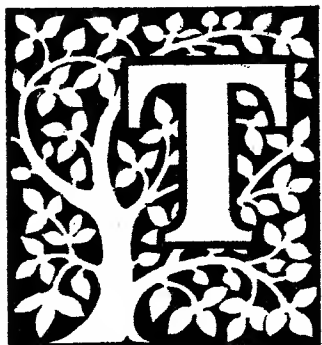
concepts, but it does make, insofar as it is permitted, mass concepts realizable. When that is firmly grounded in mass consciousness, Politics becomes ennobled and fulfills its true office in the affairs of men.

Having arrived at this point in our consideration of the Mundane Predicament, let us turn for a time to a consideration of Law—and specifically Constitutional Law—as an interpretation of man's spiritual evolution on this planet. For Constitutional Law, as such, has a finger in this pie of Political Discussion, a very large finger that cannot be ignored . . .

THE ELEVENTH DISCUSSION

NATIONS - IN - LAW

✻ THE ELEVENTH DISCUSSION ✻



TO BEGIN with, what is Constitutional Law and how does it differ from any other form of law? ¶ To answer these questions, let us go back for a moment and think of our Fourth Equation in the political hypothesis. ¶ We have said that Politics is a sort of mass action toward survival, expressed in terms of governmental agency having as its purpose the attainment of the Unknowable. But there must be some Cause and Effect operating by which men know themselves as vehicles for the political principle in progressive movement. The order of that Cause and Effect, their influence on thinking and behaviorism, their results in social department, should and indeed may be classed in significance with the divine principle which first brought concord out of primordial Chaos.

As we are accustomed to conceive of that concord in terms of positivisms, and as those positivisms are subject to analysis and classification else they would not be

positivisms, we give the name "laws" to such renditions, and as such we know them.

But there is another and higher form of such concords that concerns the intrigues of Spirit. Or in other words, there are expressions of the Divine Principle of Order that appertain expressly to humanity as humanity, which we collect and disburse as mandates having the nomenclature of Statutory Laws. And when taken collectively, that is, as a performance and not as a single act, we get the aphorism, Constitutional Law.

For it is an aphorism, when we truly consider it. There is no such thing as Constitutional Law, considered in the abstract. We have made certain rules and regulations for human conduct, and the manufacture of these as entities in philosophic thought must have a designation. Thus do we speak of Constitutional Law as though it were a "thing" whereas Constitutional Law is really a "condition"—I was almost going to say an emotional collectivism, for nine-tenths of our so-called laws are but externalized emotions, silly vengeance on this caste or that, with no premise in equity or permanent benefaction. Which is why they give us so much tribulation *to to*

Constitutional Law then, is all law legalized and rendered in terms of common undertaking. It is a procession of various inhibitions on society, that have for their purpose the regulation of conduct. Of present years and especially in America, Constitutional Law has come to mean a code of ethics set up by the governed to regulate

behavior as between man and man, but, when taken in the abstract, confused with pure government. It is nothing of the sort. It is merely an arm or organ of government, and when we consider it as a social vitality it has no greater significance than the enforced preservation of certain fields of action called "liberties"—which considered from any angle, practical or philosophical, are a jest of highest order.

Not that we wish to enter an investigation and analysis of "liberties" at this juncture. We will take the term in its popular meaning and consider Constitutional Law as a sort of Alma Mater of these ironical prerogatives. What is the function of Constitutional Law, considered in the light of general behavior, and particularly mass behavior, in the attainment of objectives? . . .



IT IS universally conceded, I think, that Constitutional Law is the bulwark of the liberties of man only as those who live under it esteem those liberties. We are getting onto important terrain here, whereon stalk many of the befouling beasts that are pulling Great America down to imminent ruin.

Constitutional Law is not for everyone, or every race, merely because they happen to be born under it!

There are types and temperaments that have no part or parcel in so-called "human rights" even under Constitutional Law, even the fundamental or "common law" of nations. They are inherently lawless, though

they know it not. They live under some form of Constitutional Law, perhaps, because they were born under it or permitted to enter the land where it prevails, but it means no more to them than merely living under so many trees. And just as there are people who cannot live among trees without instinctively wanting to fell them that the landscape may be changed, so these inherently lawless natures agitate for Change and call it "Freedom," "Equality," the "Brotherhood of Man" ✱ The fundamental law prescribes that man should live at peace with his neighbor in order that both may survive, no matter how many forms of law there may be. This is the great and essential theme behind all law. Law is peace! Peace is law! The moment there is no peace there is likewise no law, no matter how many statutes or limitations on human conduct may be in existence. Law is law only as peace is Peace. They cannot be considered separately. There is no such thing, by this token, as "laws governing war." As well try to talk of "peace governing warfare" . . .

Rules and regulations are not laws.

Great is the confusion in the public mind upon this point. Laws are the fundamentals of peace. The greater the fundamentals, the greater the peace. You cannot have laws without having peace, as I have said before, and Constitutional Law is constitutional peace! ¶ When the forefathers wrought the American nation out of a chaos of individual ideas, they established certain principles as being the consensus of opinion of

those governed, as to how they should be governed. They decided that mankind had various "rights" which the world was bound to respect—meaning themselves, to themselves, as included in that world. They knew that they were beset with wildernesses of chaotic thinking on both sides of the Atlantic. They knew that they had blundered in the past on both sides of the Atlantic. They knew that the world was struggling toward some sort of expression in government, and for want of a better name they called this envisaged civic attainment, "Liberty" . . .

It was no more liberty than chaos was liberty, for perfect liberty would have been an untrammelled, uncircumscribed life in the wilderness of American forest where every man was a law unto himself. Perfect Liberty then, was a shibboleth under which each man groped for some sort of ideal in government which would cure the ills of oppression, not give him blanket license to do as he chose in each individual case. The hardest thing which the forefathers had to learn by suffering and privation, and the events of circumstance, was that Law as law had to be recognized and that there was no such thing as Liberty in its literal sense. When you have true liberty you have a state or case in society where man recognizes his own individual limitations—not his lack of them. You have a state or case where man chooses of his own volition to live with and for his fellows, instead of against them. As Elbert Hubbard often expressed it, "One man's liberty ends where

another's right begins." Liberty recognizes this: That man is a social animal only within certain bounds and regulations, and that when he exceeds those bounds he automatically cuts himself off from something in the mass that makes for individual peace of mind and heart. Liberty as such is Peace Incarnate expressed through the circumspect behavior of each human unit making up the body politic. On no other basis can Liberty function as a social force.

Liberty is every man's right to be himself within a field of force that does not turn in on him and circumscribe him because it begins to injure or circumscribe others. ¶ Liberty in its popular sense, or as it is interpreted by alien demagogues from abroad, is anarchy—for anarchy is not wanton destruction as so many people carelessly think, but the idealism of perfect personal expression independently of every other person. There can be no such thing as anarchy anywhere in the universe, because there can be no such thing as personal expression independently of every other person. Expression as such is always dependent on those around one. Thus a man on a desert island is denied all personal expression—which must not be confounded with physical function. He is a social nonentity in the fullest sense of the word. Those who would live on desert islands in the midst of society are the true anarchists, and the thought is abhorrent to society in general because society recognizes the thought as unworkable.

Avarice and greed are not the antonyms of anarchy

but its syntheses, because anarchy recognizes only the personal dictates—never the group dictates—and man cannot exist as man without taking cognizance of the group. His very essence precludes originality of thought and act. We will return to this point later.

So then, under a closer analysis, what is this thing popularly termed Constitutional Law? What but that principle which says to society: "You have in your basic natures, considered as individuals massed in the group, inhibitions and group fixations which make living unto yourselves a social abhorrence. You know of no way of living unto yourselves exclusively." On that vital recognition rests all the law of the ages. On that vital recognition, too, rests Constitutional Law as we have hitherto defined it, in its well-nigh perfect form. For Constitutional Law says: "You as men and women must recognize that Law is peace and order, and peace and order dictate that all men shall find a way to compose their differences. These differences are anarchy in its purest form." Therefore Constitutional Law is and ever must be, the antithesis of anarchy. Constitutional Law is and ever must be, an aim not at greater freedom for the individual, but greater scope for the exercises of the individual's program of self-expression in his relation to the group.

And right here we come back to Politics.

Politics enters this situation and says: "You must go a step further and find a way to interpret this constitutional theme of law in terms of practical expression

for the man in the street." Politics is therefore not only the handmaiden of Constitutional Law but its instrument of expression. Constitutional Law is dependant on Politics more than Politics in dependant on Constitutional Law. The theme may seem interwoven but its factors are not.

When you have a problem in physics to solve, you first find a premise in the factors involved, chemically or materially. When you have a complication in religion to unsnarl, you accept the spiritual factors and look for your answer in spiritual values. But when you have a problem in ethics such as Politics or Law, too many people are prone to depart wholly from both factors, and the premises of the factors, and seek the solution in values foreign to the nature of the quandary.

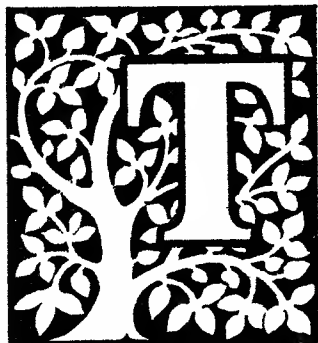
Law is peace. Let that stand defined. Politics therefore might be called "an interpretation of Peace to individuals forming the group." In practice, however, it is anything but that. Politics in practice is a jumble of petty theories and demagoguery, to say nothing of monetary self-advantage, crammed down the throats of a gullible populace that cannot understand the tenets of either Constitutional Law or its relationship to Politics to begin with.

Now let us take Constitutional Law as conceived in practice by the forefathers in idealty, and see where a brief analysis of it takes us, especially in terms of today's political systems—or lack of them! . . .

THE TWELFTH DISCUSSION

NATIONS - IN - LAW

✻ THE TWELFTH DISCUSSION ✻



THE forefathers did not conceive of Constitutional law as chaotic personal liberty but as alternative to foreign despotisms and the manners thereof, particularly as they affected personal property ¶ It was never thought that Constitutional Law should be a bulwark against all other forms of law. Law being peace in its essence, there can be as many forms of law as there are phases of peace—not phases of pacifications but conditions within the group under which self-expression within the group is possible without injurious bellicosities ✻ ✻

You cannot have real Law without having peace. That is an established and self-evident fact. So you cannot have real peace without "real law," as I have said before. But you can have peace, or lack of it, as a factor in Law without law as peace being in any wise disturbed. ¶ I refer to those conditions where Constitutional Law ceases to function, and groups attempt at times to se-

cede from it. They may be successful in their secession or they may not, but unless they are orderly and peaceful even in the act of secession, they accomplish no lasting benefit and the secession fails by virtue of the very chaos which it first set out to remedy.

Constitutional Law is primarily the admission by the governed that they have aims in society, or the social state, demanding fulfillment each toward the other. Men recognize these aims and purposes the moment they become sufficiently enlightened to protect themselves against despotism and its evils. But the moment they secede from despotism, they have the greater tyranny of anarchy confronting them if they do not at once set up certain forms of despotism that are in their natures orderly.

The theory of Constitutional Law then, is despotism without the despot!

It is instruction without the instructor.

It is might without force.

It is man's foreordained recognition that the group has demands on its members which must somehow be expressed in terms of coercion or the group as a group will no longer exist.

It is government without authority until the authority acquires a club.

The group says to its members: "Accept the tyranny of your own obligation each unto the other, acknowledge it and abide by it, or be utterly routed and destroyed by the Idealism which sacrifices the group to the individ-

ual, who in turn cannot exist without the group in the practicalities of living."

Constitutional Law prevails on the individual, through the group, to accept group dictates. The group chafes and resents—even as the individual chafes and resents—any form of discipline, being inherently independent as a phase and process in its evolving self-awareness. No matter! The group is paramount to the individual because the individual cannot exist without the group. Group law therefore, is inherently Constitutional Law with or without its despot as synthesis!

Constitutional Law makes of the individual a contributing member of the group. It is based upon the individual's contribution to the group in the form of acknowledgment that the group must have a foreordained plan of expression or perish likewise before the rapacity of its members for individualism. This is involved, yet its cognition should be clear.

You cannot have a group without members. Because of this, you cannot have members without the self-application among them of the tenets of Constitutional Law ❀ ❀

Constitutional Law is a binding together of recalcitrant human factors into the group recognition that peace must be realized with the minimum of effort and expenditure of social energy. It may be written law or not, according to the erudition of the group. But it is always admitted and acknowledged law, based on the desire for group accomplishment.



THE FACT that the American colonists wrote out an elaborate Constitution was merely a phase of their condition, not so much an accomplishment in itself. They had need of a complicated elaboration of what they termed their Constitution because their group interests were so varied and incompatible. It is not heresy to say that the American colonists drew up no model Constitution. It was in reality the construction and interpretation placed from time to time on their written and accredited Constitution as the group progressed in intelligence and recognition of its need—one division toward the other—that has resulted in its greatness *✿ ✿*

You cannot have a Constitution without support. Otherwise it is merely a lettered document. Only as the colonists increasingly realized their interdependence—and gave birth to interpretations of their Constitution befitting evolutionary circumstance—did the American people arrive at a final system of government that meant freedom from old-world tyrannies.

This process is still going on. Their Constitution is still in the making, considered on this basis.

The American Constitution is not a law of the Medes and Persians but a system of self-adjusting group reactions to increasing social complications!

The trouble in present-day America is not a recognition of the flexibility or inflexibility of the Constitution but bolder and more insolent disregard of it, or subtle lead-

ership away from it. Strategic aliens or their progeny, engineering such, are inherently lawless in their make-up and certainly nonsocial in their expression, or they would perceive into what racial dangers it conducts them as a faction.

Calling anything Constitutional merely because it is legalized by a heterogeneous mass of politicians or approved by representatives of the aforesaid lawless elements, sitting in places of judicial performance, is defeating the ends of Constitutionalism which the Constitution itself was set up to venerate. Sooner or later the reprisals must swing in, for what is being interpreted as Constitutional flexibility is really outside the Constitutional spirit and is an unmistakable aspect of anarchy. The Constitution is a pliable instrument having as its essence the will of the governed, to be governed, and expressing the manner in which such government shall be accomplished.

This second stipulation is quite as important as the first. ¶ The Constitution provides for certain inalienable rights indeed, but they are flexible rights none the less, always bearing in mind that the rights of one generation can conflict with the rights of the next. Thus a man imprisoned for debt in one generation may say that it is his inalienable right to be forgiven his debts and be set at liberty by a bankruptcy act. But a situation may arise in another generation where bankruptcy may become so widespread that it undermines all honesty and needs a drastic curb. Would it therefore be an "inalien-

able" right for all men to be forgiven their debts—perhaps made with no intent to pay them—simply because it happens to be written in the Constitution? The group might suddenly discern that its perpetuation demanded a relinquishment of this so-called "inalienable right," to enforce honesty on vast numbers of its members. Amnesty from debt-paying would be quickly terminated—and rightly so—illustrating the point that all rights are not inalienable merely because they have universality. The same thing might apply to such rights as freedom of person, trial by jury, freedom of speech, freedom of religion. These "rights" are only inalienable so long as expression of them enhances and does not disrupt the Group Spirit.

I would not care if a hundred men went to the North Pole on an exploring expedition, and probably neither would you. It is their inalienable right to explore the polar regions at their pleasure, having freedom of person. But what if a hundred thousand men decided to exercise such freedom of person when an incorrigible enemy was about to attack the gates of their homeland? Freedom of person would quickly go by the board, as it does in every nation in time of war.

That is to say again, that freedom is only freedom when it is exercised in consideration of group welfare. Anything else is pernicious anarchy, denying the very fountainhead from which gush the living waters of human association making individual expression possible.

It might even do to let a hundred thousand men remain

for a while at the Pole, it being entirely possible that they would not be needed for their homeland's defense. But what of their obligations on return, to those who resisted the enemy? Is it truthful to say that one group has freedom of person at the expense of another group, deterred from exercising it by some high moral principle, or scruple, which profits both?

Distinctions are odious.

In the final analysis, all that counts is the welfare of the group, that all within it may have the equal chance to survive and enjoy certain rights that belong to them only as those rights have exact universality among all members of the group.

A hundred thousand men at the North Pole in time of war at home would be exercising an inalienable right by alienating themselves from the group that endowed them with the right—which would not be equity, and hardly commonsense.

Again, I would not care if a thousand men asked for trial by jury, had a thousand murders been committed. But supposing that murder became so rampant, and "justice" so venal, that even jurors feared for their lives and trial by jury became a legal farce. Would it not be pardonable, and even feasible, for the authorities to suspend trial by jury, if it clogged the machinery of effective jurisprudence and threatened the group with extinction through unpunished murder? And the same applies to a freedom of speech that persuades whole districts to tear down the government by force, or free-

dom of religion that permits atheism to undermine all faith in God and the moral code. All can be carried to a point where wolves of disruption, ruin and decay, stalk order and system, and demand a drastic curbing.

¶ The Group is paramount!

Let us never lose sight of this bed rock fundamental, since the Group is "social cohesion for individual sustenance." ✻ ✻

As such, it must be protected. And Constitutional Law is the literary and social embodiment of such protection expressed in terms of practical facility.

Constitutional Law is the embodiment of group longevity for individual sustenance, meriting the support of both Group and Individual else neither survives.



NOW I am quite aware that the Jewish Communist uses the same argument to advance his doctrines of group cohesion for economic gains. He not only would have the Constitution flexible, but he would have it in such a state of continuous flux that it merely expresses the popular caprice—if indeed it expresses anything at all—the popular caprice being of course a manufactured mass acquiescence to securely ensconced autocracy ✻ ✻

As we shall see further on, however, it is not Constitutional flexibility—or rather, adaptability—to meet changes in year-to-year life, to which we object in the Jewish program. Our objection to Communism is its

character: a satanic reversal and misrepresentation, in practice, of what it purports to be theoretically.

Affecting to be communal, it is factional and racially despotic ❖ ❖

It is social regimentation, forcing obedience to the behests of the savage few—a dictatorship of the vilest order since it makes no real attempt to dictate for the good of the whole but for the gradual liquidation of those who oppose its freakish tyrannies.

Better a year of Mussolini or Hitler than an hour of true Stalinism, for at least the Fascism of the former dictators is premised on a tacit inspirational ideal, fecund with spiritual values. Sovietism is inspirationally spiritual in hypothesis only.

Stripped of all its garish nomenclature and posings, sovietism is the political expedient for liquidating by murder or industrial slavery all residents of a country who are not of Jewish blood or who are not acquiescent to a Jewish reigning caste.

Let the Hebrews wail as they will, and point to the numbers of Gentiles in important executive positions under sovietism. The facts have it that Bolshevism has been financed from the start by Hebrews, sponsored by Hebrews, and controlled and directed by Hebrews in the places of real power. Bolshevism, Communism, Sovietism—call it what you will, it is in essence the antithesis of that which it purports to be—one for all and all for one. The deepest students of the Soviet, not Jews themselves, are agreed that it is indeed all for one, and that

the one is the Jew. That Jewry and Communism are synonymous, is a grisly fact which earth's non-Jewish peoples must ultimately discover.

Turn from such insidious misapplication of community principles, to the Protectorate in England under Cromwell. The rights of Englishmen endorsed for generations by British spirituality, were being menaced to extinction by the Papacy and other factions. The British masses epitomized their inalienable rights in Cromwell, and he functioned as Lord Protector until such time as they could be normally and naturally exercised with the menace removed. I maintain that by the recommendations and definitions already advanced, such was not a suspension, much less an abolition, of English Constitutionalism ✻ ✻

It was Constitutionalism, taking the single-leader form with a preponderance of the group behind him, in tacit existence for every moment that the Protectorate endured. We might call it oral instead of written, but it was probity for the group-interest and worked out practically ✻ ✻

Today we may have written Constitutionalism, but it is intended and applied more for the enhancement of Jewish autocracy than for the recorded civic sentiments of freemen, and of the two, I would prefer the Protectorate interpretation.

THE THIRTEENTH DISCUSSION

NATIONS - IN - LAW

✠ THE THIRTEENTH DISCUSSION ✠



WE must not jump to the conclusion, however, that because Constitutional Law is—or should be—facile of expression, that it is always workable. It is workable only when it responds in practice to the social state under which it is applied.

Thus Constitutional Law is the backbone of the English monarchical system and quite as respectable in its demands on both people and their times as the American Constitution—too often glorified erroneously in comparison with the first. The one is no more comprehensible without the Will of the Majority behind it, than the other. Each fulfills a function.

Harking back to first principles for emphasis: Constitutional Law is popular will made manifest in social form and expressions, having of paramount interest the desires of the common run of humanity living under it. ¶ A nation of serfs cannot have, and does not merit, the Constitutional form demanded and practiced under the instruction of highly educated and spiritually disciplined

freemen. The serfs, not understanding the nature of their power in freedom, would blunder into excesses abhorrent to their more advanced brethren. Equally so, the freemen could not exist spiritually under the crude and drastic dictates and fiat necessary to hold a nation of quasi-animals in some form of social cohesion. This is no disparagement of either, but a statement of fact that is borne out by history.

People rarely stop to consider that governmental forms are not government. Neither are Constitutional forms always expressive of the highest good merely because they are Constitutional, or expressive of the majority will ~~to to~~

Constitutional forms usually accrue in very advanced states of society, a platitude recognized by any school-boy. But the reason why they accrue is too often passed over—as the Jewish Communist passes them over in the United States at present.

Constitutional forms are superior to dynastic forms only in so far as those living under them are fit to live under them, meaning that they possess not so much the civic erudition as the spiritual self-discipline, and temper their motives with group altruisms not to be found in lower orders of intelligence.

The Jewish Communist, alien born, comes to America and agitates for Red tenets, unaware that whereas they may supply much that his immature soul craves governmentally, it by no means follows that native-born Christian Americans, raised in the patriotic tradition,

have not long-since graduated from that status where such Red tenets have anything to offer them. So to approximate what is attractive to him in his temperamental sadism and racial adolescence, he has to install them by violence, force, sedition and subtlety.

People found living under Constitutional forms are usually ripe mentally and spiritually, if let alone by subversive interests, to live under them. And it is sentimental nonsense to declare, either pedantically or practically, that because one human group has so attained and achieved, all human groups are similarly deserving. If this were so, why the necessity for human groups at all?

Human groups, or nations, are states or conditions of spiritual progress, and the Plan of Life has it that human entities shall go from attainment to attainment.

To attempt to throw groups, representing degrees of mass attainments, all into one great group by saying that either Constitutional or Sovietistic forms shall apply in practice universally, is to ignore the fundamentals of earthly experience. It would introduce the same chaos into general society that would be introduced into a school if all classes were thrown into one great classroom for indiscriminate study—freshmen, sophomores, juniors and seniors—expecting a degree of culture to result ❧ ❧

Human groups, as such, express degrees of moral and spiritual enlightenments. Some of the mightiest mistakes of history have been made because the intelli-

gentsia of the various nations failed to recognize, or did not care to recognize, this truth.

This, of course, is saying flatly and fearlessly that there are grades and classes of society that not only do not merit constitutional forms of government, but would penalize the higher and more advanced classes by attempting to attain to them prematurely, or before the former were ready to assimilate and practice them ✱
¶ I do not preach class—or even race—discrimination in this. I preach class or race degrees of human spirituality, of which the Constitutional Form is the externalized evidence.

We cannot go forward as students of cultures until we make self-evident distinctions, devoid of squeamish sentimentalities, and look the facts in the face as we find them ✱ ✱

Many men think that because Constitutional Forms have in advanced cases resulted in the curing of certain social maladies, they will perforce cure all social maladies of every description, everywhere.

They look upon the human species as a universal brotherhood, arguing that the Eskimo or the Hottentot is essentially the counterpart of the Aryan or the Nordic because he has two arms, two legs, brings forth his young in conjugation with his female and exists on digested food. This is to viciously ignore Sociology and rear the spiritual structure on biology. It cannot be done, and history proves it.

The two forms of evolution, Biological and Sociological,

or physical and spiritual, grow up along two separate routes of achievement.

The Biological is a method, the Sociological is a means.

¶ You cannot have men all sociological, as you have them all biological, because their evolution is measured in entirely different time-frames.

You are ignoring the Divine Principle which decrees that men shall enhance themselves spiritually by a wholly different method than those by which they enhance themselves physically. And there is no point of contact ❀ ❀

I say: "I would rather be Aryan than Negroid or Mongolian." What am I expressing? I am specifying not only a degree of culture—for after all, all culture is relative—I am expressing a degree of spiritual attainment, since the mass level of intelligence in the one case is higher than in the other.

These are simple equations. But there is nothing simple about their worldly application, particularly in times like the present.

It is a fundamental of advanced spirituality, to read one's own mental and sense-reactions—to say nothing of emotions—into all other forms of the human-life projection. This is essentially the "Christian" viewpoint. But applied practically, it works all sorts of havoc. Because, without being any less Christian, it accredits lower forms of life and intelligence with merits and attainments which do not exist and therefore cannot function ❀ ❀

Given a group of men of different nationalities, the degree of assent resulting for any given project will be measured, not by the common intelligence, as many hold thoughtlessly, but by the common welfare physically. This in itself sets up a barrier to the development of intelligence.

Men must be considered as gods in school, each of a different period of application to his studies. Dividing them according to their progress is not visiting them with disparagements. It is looking at sociological facts and applying them objectively.

The very fact that certain groups, or classes, or nationals, might resent such classification, is proof of the correctness of the issue under study.

The higher people go in intelligence, or spiritual development, the less inclined they are to take umbrage at comparisons.

So therefore we have this proposition: Men are men physically, wherever you perceive them, but men are only men politically and socially, according as they evince the principles on which we build our comparisons of them, one group against another.

This is difficult to hold in mind, and cruel perhaps to the imaginations of the highest forms of human development who instinctively would order the race in terms of their own psychologies. It is nothing of the sort to those forms of human development not yet enabled intellectually to think beyond themselves or their immediate family groupings. Their very deficiencies

of intelligence prevent them from making the discriminations that result in what the higher forms would take to mean disparagement. They are really being coddled and pampered to their hurt, with few resultant benefits to society at large.

As men progress spiritually from race to race, and spirituality to spirituality, they perceive these things in their true proportions and are benefited instinctively—not essentially in external relations.

External relations take care of themselves. Again I say, we have history as proof.

Americans in particular should think of their Constitution—and the Constitutional Law which it literalizes—as an intelligent and workable address to those to whom it applies and who view it in receptive denouement, which is not the same for all social groups under every condition of existence. Once this fact is made plain, and intelligently accepted, we do away with eighty per cent of the antagonism between groups as nations. Certainly we should do away with nearly one hundred per cent of antagonism as between class and class.

Why can we not get it through our heads that life is not an issue in a law court? Life is an expression of one entity's existence as against another entity's existence, under the conditions most practical and profitable for both concerned in the experience.

Given a dozen men, it may be found that a dozen forms of law are applicable to them. Given a dozen different groups, those dozen forms will unerringly manifest. Yet

in its essence of application, law as law will remain the same—peace among individuals, therefore peace among groups, that each may survive with the greatest allotment of benefits from the whole life experience.

You cannot have men wandering aimlessly around, however, seeking their groups. You must have a Plan of Cohesion properly established, that men may recognize their individual obligations . . .

THE FOURTEENTH DISCUSSION

NATIONS - IN - LAW

THE FOURTEENTH DISCUSSION



HICH brings us back to a still closer examination of the phenomena of Politics. Politics comes in to effect this miracle in animalistic lives. By animalistic I do not mean brutish. I mean life as perceived by the senses only. Politics is the science of finding for the individual his place of power in organized society and furnishing him with legal opportunity to fill it as effectively as spiritual erudition makes possible!

Politics says to a man: "You have an animal body with animal instincts, particularly those of self-preservation for yourself and your immediate group. You also have a spiritual essence which demands that you recognize your interdependence on one another. Somehow the two must be correlated for practical workmanship in this Garden of Experience. To take the desires of your animalistic selves and merge them in group fecundity, losing at the same time no part of your inherent susceptibility to organization for practical solution of

problems, is a job of the highest merit and a function sublime in concept."

Given a group of thirty men, ten will be indolent, ten will be industrious, ten will be bellicose, improvident, luck-inspired. How to take those thirty men and preserve their moral and spiritual attributes for the good of their offspring and the enhancement of racial cultures, is Politics in ablest form.

Somewhere in those men is a common denominator of horse sense which enables them to understand their amenability to common law—or rather—their acquiescence to modes of living that shall be reasonably peaceful, that each may have opportunity to express his individuality to the remaining twenty-nine. Law then—especially in its Constitutional form—interpreted in terms of Politics which is its practical instrumentality, can be set down as this:

The effort of Humanity's Subconsciousness to align itself with forces of peaceful expression, and the mute desire working out through human institutions for every man to be allotted his little scope of expression without harming his neighbor or his group.

We have too long thought of "the law" and Politics as halves of a profligate police force, clubbing the righteous and cultured into obeying the caprices of the unlettered and degraded.

Politics is the very antithesis of such, as I propose hereinafter to dissect it into expedients.

It is the method by which the group manifests its ad-

hesion to current concepts of Constitutional Law, or constitutional peace, as you prefer!

Dwell on this! Think on it!

We have Politics in wards and precincts, on school-boards and in caucuses, in city streets, in vast groups known as nations. Assuredly the politics of the ward-heeler, to be termed such, must have something in common with the interplay of wits between world statesmen. Its methods may be as different as the antics of the child are demarked from the personal preferences of the cultured adult in action. Yet, even as the child and adult are essentially human and responsive to the same stimuli socially and naturally, so Politics as a system of human activity—a retrenchment of social abnormality, if you please—has a common trend throughout every state of application.

This can be nothing other than the fundamental principle of attempting to adjust the human ego to an environment in which other egos are factors, and letting it find and exercise such amount of personal power as the spiritual erudition of the said ego permits it to exert. ¶ Looked at in this light, Politics is as noble, as altruistic, as spiritual, as poetry or religion.

I base this argument on my prior analysis that Politics aims to make the human being fit into his environment with minimum distress to himself and to others.

Never once should we overlook the fact, however, that any form of social force—especially one so potent as Constitutional Law with its practical exponent, Politics

—only exists in terms of a performance that is human.
Law as law may be abstract.

Politics may be defined as law in the concrete.

But Politics is the Law in human notions of values that are practical, and any real study of those values must be carried on in the symbols of human souls.

At once we confront the qualifying factors of Bloods and the Consanguinity of Peoples.

Before Politics can be either expressed or interpreted by the ward-heeler, the blatant demagogue, or the truly constructive world statesman, it must take into account this relationship of bloods.

The Consanguinity of Peoples is a vital and encompassing factor in interpretation of all forms of law and their application to human activity through human instrumentalities. Only as we perceive the influence which Consanguinity exerts on political thinking and functioning, do we supply ourselves with an adequate philosophic background for painting the aforesaid three types of political dignitaries, and observe how to deal with them in terms of intellectual leadership.



IT is both instructive and interesting to note how peoples of either similar or allied bloods seem to exercise something inherent in those bloods which give unique tone and shade to their political explorings. Certainly human history is little else than the attack of one political concept upon another.

By this token, if we concede that Politics in its purity of service is as noble and spiritual as poetry or religion, then the drama of human relationships must hold profitable revelations. We are confronted by a presentiment that consanguinity of peoples is largely responsible for Law Forms as we know them, that is, Law in the sense of statutes and limitations prescribing the conduct of human souls affected.

The consanguinity of peoples is admittedly biological. On the other hand we are prone to forget in our enthusiasm for Biology that it can also be conceived as sociological. You cannot view a people in a spirit of law, order, and fidelity to a group, without having them more or less consanguinous. "People are of one blood" we say, when they respond to certain group actions and manners that distinguish their group from all other groups. That is, they make known their desires and trends in a manner unique unto themselves, therefore consanguinously. This does not mean that they are "queer." It means that they show contrasts ¶ Consanguinity of peoples is never expressed more clearly than in their reactions to Law and their behavior under it.

The Irishman or Celt looks at Law as a personal medium for the expression of an individuality that is naturally bellicose. The Spaniard looks at Law as something to be flouted so long as he can do it successfully, that is, without damage to his physical welfare. The Englishman looks at Law as a medium for extending his dictates over other peoples while he himself tolerates it, annoyed by it but not necessarily resentful that he must suffer it. The Englishman is really more lawless than the Spaniard so long as it suits his purpose empirically, whereupon, when the sun of his fortunes is beclouded by a people still more lawless, he takes refuge under the very umbrella which he so conveniently throws away. The Dutchman looks at Law much like the German: as an abstract principle wholly divorced from the fiats of monarchy which he does not have to obey personally when personally made or instigated. The Frenchman sees Law as a *casus belli*; he sets up his Law and says, "This is for the regulation of the foreigner within or without our gates and if he does not assent to it he will find himself in trouble." Which he usually does. But the Frenchman himself winks at his laws and deports himself as the polished aristocrat, guided more by the dictates of good taste than the regulations of police courts ❖ ❖

Coming to the Latin, in the sense of the Mediterranean peoples, we find Law almost negated. Law is not something to be set up and obeyed. It is something to be set up and knocked over, the bagatelle of cliques and fac-

tions, the by-play of statesmen serving personal ends. ¶ No Latin takes his law seriously, or if he does, it is with the seriousness of a child for an interesting toy. He practices the form without grasping the essence. He is the high adventurer, more or less contemptuous of orderly regulation, and the exact antithesis of the Oriental who perceives in all Law some phase of Divinity ✻ ✻

These races are not to be blamed for the calumnies they bring on one another by this transport of the principles of Law to nefarious ends.

Law is Law wherever one finds it. It says to mankind, "Thus far and no farther in your acts and deeds, lest calamity visit you." But different nationalities and races interpret the penalties from transgression, and the procedure under transgression, in diverse ways according to racial history or consanguinous impulses. The reason why I interject this dissertation on Consanguinity ahead of my study of that political amoeba, the Ward-Heeler, is this:

Compact national groups with a strong group consciousness will be more hostile toward their neighbors than those loosely-knit—having less fear of consequences, which in turn is a willingness to invite debts of Cause and Effect, believing that payment can be delayed indefinitely or at least at their pleasure. Loosely-knit groups, or people without a strong sense of group consciousness, are disposed to be more conscientious about paying debts similarly incurred. Thus we have groups

or nations who seek protection most strongly in statutory enactments. History shows that bellicose nations frequently have fewer statutory enactments, while those most inclined to be peaceable, load up their legislative records with thousands of laws which are dead by the time they are placed on the records . . .



OW admittedly the Ward-Heeler is the lowest form of life in political biology, but we must consider him as the man in the street accepts or profits by his function. ¶ The Ward-Heeler recognizes the lack of strong group consciousness among such races or nationals as are found in great city centers, and proceeds to capitalize on it. He makes his living by playing the individual against the mass. He says to the voter: "Without me you are powerless. I protect your interests against powers vested with unlawful privileges. I come to you as a standard-bearer, epitomizing your nakedness as an individual but representing your collective strength to deal with the machine of the majority."

The individual voter accepts that this is so. If he has a brain he uses it only to recognize his apparent weakness as an individual, not to see his strength collectively with others in similar predicament. He accepts the Ward-Heeler's promises and dictates, content with a ton of coal in the winter which is usually one-quarter slate as a gift from the party machine, or an eulogy in the party

newspapers telling him that he is "the People, all powerful, and able to perpetuate or destroy the whole social structure." He goes to the polls periodically and votes as the Ward-Heeler instructs, or he stays away from the polls and lets the Ward-Heeler vote his proxies—so to speak—by illegal balloting.

This goes on from year to year. If the Ward-Heeler be not one hundred percent flagrant in the abuse of his power, the Machine he represents continues to dole out coal indefinitely and fills the newspapers with paeans praising "the People." . . . If, on the other hand, the Ward-Heeler abuses his power, aggravates the individual voter, or fails in the delivery of his coal, he is booted from favor and another—of exactly the same type—takes his place under the banner of The Opposition.

It would be very easy to castigate this sort of thing as a travesty on popular government. The practice is accredited in various forms, however, in many countries outside of America. England has her political henchmen and poll workers in city election districts. In Germany and Austria, even in France and Russia, and up to a recent date in Italy, the Ward-Heeler had his prototype, anxious to see that the individual voter came out on election day and did his "duty" under the duress of either reward or punishment.

These practices are common wherever groups are loosely knit in their thinking, and strange to say—yet not so strange either when we stop to think about it—there is

less group consciousness and greater lack of organized thinking in the congestion of our cities than out in sparsely settled districts of any given countryside

¶ Why this should be so, of course is obvious.

In the congested city the individual feels security by being lost in the mass while not exactly a part of mass intellect. In the country the individual puts more reliance on his own urges and impulses though at the same time his hunger for closer association with his kind produces a universality of attitude toward governmental organization that his city brother does not feel instinctively. Therefore we have no politics played in the country—politics, I mean, worth spelling with a capital P and in the sense of controlled city voting.



The city dweller is a nonentity amid thousands of other nonentities, and senses it because of the incredible numbers of persons he beholds around him hour by hour. The country man sees only himself and immediate family, sometimes for weeks on end, which tends to make him realize his alone-ness and need for greater cooperation with his fellows. We say therefore that the latter "thinks independently" and arrives at his political conclusions by a process of logic. He does nothing of the sort. He simply responds to his urge toward gregariousness, and, lacking the facilities of gregariousness, he does the best that he can as an individual, relying on his personal acumen and social sagacity to dictate his opinions expressed by the ballot-box.

The Ward-Heeler could never obtain a hold on the coun-

try to any extent; not because the distance between voters makes for his personal inconvenience, but because the country man sees human nature in better perspective, not being surfeited by it.

You cannot have a group of men eternally watching one another without breeding suspicion and distrust. Such is the city psychology that makes the Ward-Heeler possible.

The country man gets a fair dilution of bodily health, sun and rain and outdoor psychology, into his group thinking. All this making for independence, we have the seeming paradox of its also making the healthiest kind of interdependence.

City people are children in their outlook on life, especially on governmental agencies. Country people are more adult. That is to say they view and decide for themselves, and see homogeneity as an asset in group intelligence  

The city person, being childlike, looks to the governmental parent to give him wisdom and direction day by day, and the governmental parent comes in the guise of the Ward-Heeler who steals the child's pennies while it is sleeping in perfect trust in the parent's integrity.

¶ Incidentally, this analysis explains why the Jew, when given political power, immediately sets up a paternal bureaucracy. The Jew down through the ages has been essentially a city dweller, made such by the necessity for protection from persecution for nonsocial practices. It further explains why the strange Jewish political psy-

chology known as Communism is ever a product of metropolitanism.

Now then, let us take the Ward-Heeler on this basis into national—and perhaps international politics—for a few pages, and see what he does, and how he affects national groups or specific races in their alignments against each other. . . .



THE FIFTEENTH DISCUSSION

NATIONS - IN - LAW

✻ THE FIFTEENTH DISCUSSION ✻



O BEGIN with, the Ward-Heeler is a type of looter. Let us get this straight and never lose sight of it. His mission is to fatten his own pure—first, last, and all the time. He has no love for humanity as such, never mind how gregarious he may be in his contacts. Humanity to him is a sheep-flock, to be sheared to his advantage. He knows he can drive the sheep-flock wherever he wills, provided he does not anger the sheep or unduly rout or injure them. He goes onward from year to year on the principle that although he loses office temporarily, he cannot lose his offices permanently, for there is no substitute for his place in our present political structure. He is a master in the art of chicane, perfidious promising, and mob entertainment. He knows how to divert attention from real issues and fasten it on nonessential bluster. He takes his Party as shibboleth of his own holiness and rhapsodizes over it to tears, playing on mass loyalty to work individual dis-

loyalty—at least to self and the public good  
In addition to these, the Ward-Heeler is past master in the art of thinking without thought, and performing without performance. He comes and goes as a wolf in sheep's clothing who exacts his toll in the darkness of night, laying the blame for his killings on the very interests he affects to combat.



He is not to be blamed—as an individual. He but follows his destiny as an officer of blind social forces over which he actually has no control. This makes him an opportunist of the first water. As opportunity offers, so he profits.

Consider him therefore in national politics. Just who is he, and where does he manifest? Listen to this:



We have a state in general society, wherein people are so timid when confronted by titanic issues fraught with destruction, that their mass timidities give birth to panic. Wars and rumors of wars can effect this condition. Powerful financial interests undermining government can produce it. Mob leaders are artists in working on collective terrors, no matter how small, artfully magnifying them into imminent cataclysms. All these agencies are bent toward the one consummation: getting the mass to follow the individual, or the ideal, or the Party expressed in the individual, so that loot may be taken by those thus successful in their social chicane.

¶ Be not deceived. Take away all opportunities for loot from government, and you have government as pure as mountain-spring water.

Make it a crime, successfully punishable in every instance, to receive a dollar of public money above a stipulated salary, and you purify government at one slashing sword-stroke.

Conversely, however, you take from government its greatest appeal to the rank and file, that makes it a vocation  

No matter how honest the congressman, senator, or public official, he knows that his position will give him opportunities to better his financial standing, though not necessarily connected with the government strong-box. He may go into office determined to do his duty toward his country. But he also goes into office determined to do his duty toward himself.

This does not mean that all congressmen, senators, and public officials, are scoundrels. It means that if they never had a single emolument above the stipend openly and concretely attached to any office, there would be such a dearth of public officials that government could scarcely operate, excepting in times of universal danger when officials volunteered in order to save their own property  

Men and women are always human in that they think of themselves before considering the group. Or rather, they think of themselves—and security for their persons and possessions—in terms of the group, when they do group thinking.

This is understandable.

It seems to be Nature's plan for making the individual

aware of the group, but carried to excess it means unnatural practices. The group ceases to function as a group, and blindly follows the behest of some strong individual or assembly of potentates.

Human nature in the abstract is so constructed that it cannot see beyond the length of its own nose when it comes to group or national policy. Thinking collectively is an eccentric attribute.

If mankind could think collectively it would have no need for governmental agencies. Every man would be like every other man, and the sameness of individuals would make the race a plague of robots.

Men think differently because of individuality, and yet it cannot be denied that there are certain factors in life, accredited by all men in every sort of group, that act upon them with common impulse and result. The mental reaction to these factors represents what is commonly termed Mass Thinking.

It is truly Mass Reaction. . . .



OW the Ward Politician, being human also and ever on the lookout for loot in the form of either money, prestige, or social enhancement, invited himself into the national group essentially as the Demagogue. What has he to offer the body politic? His "principles" cannot be his own, for he has no principles—speaking of principles as fundamental ideas of constructive worth to his fellow citizens. He comes and goes on the stage of national politics, in waves of popular passion or excitement. He collects such facts as the psychology of the moment renders pertinent to his purpose, and projects them at the mass as tenets of authority with aspects of great wisdom. The Public, being as a child fourteen years old in mental capacity, and often less, likes to be told the thing it knows or or suspects; for, being essentially fearful, it wants confirmation of its whimsical conceptions. It rises and falls in so-called intellect at the behest of forces it cannot understand, and when the demagogue seizes on the obvious aspects of its dilemma and expounds them with a clarity, it does not take much ability to pass them along as interpretative wisdom.

Dissect and analyze the speeches of demagogues, and they become the puerile utterings of undeveloped mentalities, seeking to pass as perturbing profundities because cloaked in grand phrasings or vapid innuendoes.

¶ So let us take the Demagogue—whom I make synonymous with the city Ward-Heeler—and consider



his behavior in the face of calamity. For instance, War. ¶ First and foremost, always remember that the demagogue rarely wants it. It paralyzes his business, minimizes his importance, substitutes the military for the so-called civil authority, and makes him the cellar intriguer or the wordy camp scavenger.

The Demagogue is lost and confounded in the march of excitements unless he rises to supernal heights and makes his voice heard above the clear blare of bugles. He must scream like an eagle to gain the slightest attention. But to scream like an eagle he must have something to scream about. Mere noise does not attract attention, especially in war time when screaming is general ❀ ❀

The demagogue therefore, in self-preservation—to maintain his prestige which of course means his livelihood—must cast around for ideas so unique or bizarre that they outweigh the popular clamor and force attention on him by the sheer audacity of their noisier presentation. Truth is not important. Veracity is abandoned. The big thing is sensation—which means that the demagogue, or ward-heeler in national politics, ascends unheard-of heights to make himself so ridiculous that he is sometimes taken seriously as the prophet of New Dawns.

Only men of spectacular ability can do this, and such ability is erroneously translated as leadership. Really it is vassalage of a low, low order, since it means that the demagogue must often descend into abysses of


infamous practices to get his "issues." Then, having gotten them, he must marry them for better or for worse throughout the lifetime of their popularity, or lose face and pelf.

These "issues," so obtained purely for their bizarre qualities, may transcend every tenet of commonsense in the face of the calamity. No matter! The demagogue must have his "issues"—to keep himself before the public  

So he assails and rants and eulogizes, to any purpose opportune to his caprice. That he may be a coward and perhaps a traitor, in the choice of his "issues," makes small difference. He must go on screaming, or be lost in the shuffle of mighty events.

The shibboleth and motto on his ensign is: "I care not what others may think, but as for me, give me attention or give me death!" Sometimes he gets death—well merited—but more often he gets notice under the guise of statesmanship and is pushed to the fore as the Man of the Hour.

What happens, however, when he is so promoted?

One of two things: He either sees himself in his true light and becomes suddenly sane in his pronouncements—in which case he flirts with oblivion again—or he becomes a prophet indeed, a prophet leading the masses to their destruction with abominable doctrines fished from the abyss of a desperate self-aggrandizement 

¶ Going one step further, let us see where this leads us in international affairs. . . .

THE SIXTEENTH DISCUSSION

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✿ THE SIXTEENTH DISCUSSION ✿



SUBMIT that no crisis ever arose between two countries that could not be settled amicably around a green table, if those countries could but muzzle their eagle screamers and rampant opportunists. Countries afflicted with crises usually arrive at such, anyhow,

through the operations of these same Ward-Heelers on the stage of international events. Seldom do nations arrive at a pass where carnage is necessary to settle conflicting issues, provided the Ward-Heelers and eagle screamers—seeking only their selfish advantages—can be turned out to pasture for a time, or left to forage for themselves in fields of physical labor.

International conflicts, in nine cases out of ten, are the results of so-called "popular passions," aroused to fever heat on both sides. But those passions do not originate and grow choleric unless fanned by external means ✿

¶ Any nation's greatest enemy is not its armed adversary in the field, or even the voracious activities of

envious and bellicose princes aligned against it. A nation's most dastardly antagonist is the cowardly exploiter of Self, showering tons of ward-heeler coal on the body politic in return for surrender of its priceless heritage of self-assertion after calm logic—that the demagogue may turn the crisis to his personal advantage *✻ ✻*

Make no mistake about this, the Ward-Heeler in national politics is the rampant demagogue.

The Ward-Heeler in international politics is the fanner of international animosities, who would set a world aflame before he would saw a cord of wood or clear a patch of garden.

He is the servant of his own passions in order to serve the passions of the races involved.

He is the huckster of his own principles and honor, before huckstering the principles and honor of the peoples he affects to represent.

And he always finds ready markets for his wares when great predatory interests—operating on an international scale—discern that it is to the advantage of their nefarious ends to employ him, even though he may not always be aware that he is so employed.



NOW this seeming diatribe against Ward-Heelers and Demagogues might be banal except for one point too often overlooked: Each is necessary in the body politic and the elimination of both would be catastrophic, because none could take their places in what they accomplish by translating Group Law into a force that affects the life of the average individual in his relationships to his fellows.

The Demagogue, in other words, actually has a mission! Not, however, as a demagogue!

It is his function, as Ward-Heeler, to make Politics practicable—that is, to furnish a contact point whereby the mass acts in concert with the individual's initiative.

¶ This concerted action of the mass is always provocative of intelligence, which the individual is not aware of until long after its results have become apparent ~~to~~

¶ Concerted action is not only galvanic; it is instructive and “intelligently impelling,” in that it makes the individual examine himself more closely in his relationship toward the group.

We have a deep study here which requires a chapter unto itself. But this is most important:

The individual is never eased out of his mass phlegmatism. He is always forced out—dynamited out, if you will so consider it.

He is made to see himself as he is, by violence.

This seeing himself as he is, violently, is largely the definition of “crisis” in any situation.

The ward-heeler or demagogue, wherever you find him, realizes this subconsciously. His acts and deportments are ever to that end when he enters the role of eagle screamer or international diplomat. He makes his public aware of its "predicament" by maximum theatrics and excessive metaphor. He gets it wrought up by violence indeed. Then he proceeds—or tries—to capitalize that violence to his own advantage.

Sometimes it works and he comes into power. Sometimes it does not work and he is relegated to the scrap-heap. The outcome in either event is relatively unimportant, since humanity will persist despite all the eagle screamers in creation.

The demagogue, therefore, has his function in the body politic as a sort of bombastic yeast, causing it to rise to a recognition of its own attributes after leavening group consciousness. And the chief of these attributes is an inherent capacity for reasoning individually but acting collectively, not to mention supplying the human instrumentality by which a finer and more beauteous pattern could be worked out if the body politic would only take unto itself the proper social consciousness.

There is, of course, no such thing as The Mass, or the "masses." There are only vast numbers of single entities, comprising their own peculiarities, along with certain activities that derive from group consciousness, or Group Cognizance.

The Masses as masses are a myth, or abstract creation. But the individual is never abstract, and must find a

contact point on which he exhibits Group Intelligence. This Group Intelligence, as we have already seen, is comprised of factors that propose the greatest good for the greatest numbers. The individual, therefore, must have an instrumentality by which he contacts the group as a Group, and collectively manifests the group intelligence ✻ ✻

The Ward-Heeler does this for him, or sees that he does it, considering him in his indigenous habitat, the city precinct. The Ward-Heeler as such in national politics, however, is not so essential as he is provocative of recreative ends, for he exhibits traits that are more destructive than the opposite.

When we come to international politics, he is not merely a malicious influence but avowedly a manifest nuisance.

¶ Let us turn now to the Ward-Heeler, the Demagogue, and the International Mischief-Maker, as necessary evils in the politico-social structure . . . for until we look at them from every angle, and understand thoroughly what each is, and how he maintains his power, we can have no furniture in our Room of the World but what will meet with a periodic smashing.



WE KNOW that plenty of men exist who have no other interest in life than minding the other fellow's business. This on its face seems annoying, even aggravating. But is it always malicious and unprofitable? The man who minds the other fellow's business, accomplishes a twofold purpose: he gives himself something to do, and he sees to it that the other fellow does something likewise. Or rather, put it in this way: He makes it his business to inspect the other fellow's activities, and the other fellow, aware of such inspection, has a tendency not to lie down on the thing which he is doing.

This is a vital principle of Sociology.

A group, a city, or a nation, totally without busybodies, is like a loaf of bread that is minus its yeast. It lacks a certain quality making for resiliency in function.

People are gregarious. They are interested to read of themselves in terms of the other fellow and his activities. They also read the other fellow in terms of themselves and their own activities. This is healthy. It makes for community of interest, social sympathy, and abstract compassion ❀ ❀

There are all kinds of busybodies, however—respectable and indecent, legitimate and illegitimate, beneficial and baneful, constructive and malicious.

Any agency that propounds information or intelligence of a general order that makes man to know his fellows the better, to appreciate their good qualities and depre-

cate their faults, is constructive and beneficent ✚ ✚
Any agency that leads men to estimate their fellows for
their motives, falsely, is baneful and malicious. We
cannot have "good gossips" or "bad information," using
these terms in their root meanings, but we can and do
have "good information" and "bad gossiping." . . .

The ward-heeler, the demagogue, and the national or
international mischief-maker are, on the whole, subli-
mated gossips; whereas newspapers, preachers, authors,
psalmists, and lawyers of the constructive type, are pur-
veyors and conveyors of intelligence about their fellows
that is blessed in its ultimate effects on civilization ✚

¶ This business of raising up demagogues to shout at
all sorts of fancied malfeasance and corporate evil in the
market-places, is a phase of so-called Civilization, to be
grievously lamented. It is social intemperance of the
most virulent order. It makes man's intelligence a
brooding-place for malice, envy, and social destruction.

¶ The Demagogue is a component part of modern state-
hood, but he is only necessary so long as he is clearly
recognized for that which he is! . . .

This may seem a strange statement, but all that I have
tried to set forth in this chapter up to this point has been
building toward it.



THE PETTY politician, the eagle screamer, or the international bloodhound who bays at the moon till he makes it drip gore, is necessary so long as he fulfills the function of making the true statesman apparent to the man in the street. He is only necessary so long as he looks to the Party for subsistence and lets the public pelf alone, thus apprising honest men of their honesty. He is moderately harmless, so long as he keeps within bounds of his intellectual circumference. The moment, however, that he rises in the public estimation to the point of being fallaciously mistaken for an exponent of greatness, because he is mystical or reverberant, then he ceases to be necessary, or useful, or harmless, and becomes the grossest type of social liability.

It is my contention that nations are given demagogues, to purge them of uncleanness by making them to discern golden worth in their true representatives.

To say that all small politicians, bellboy hucksters, and ranters, are a universal nuisance that should be eliminated, is to see human nature trying to make the Bread of Utopia without the yeast. We must not stop here with metaphor, however, thinking that calling attention to malfeasance in office—even the office of social prescription—is sufficient to condone the abuses precipitated by augurers of tin-pan woes.

Man has a mission unto himself. It is to train himself in self-government—or better, in self-discipline—and the task is monumental. It cannot be accomplished by

axioms, or the actual practices of transient generations.

¶ Light is given men and women to guide them intelligently along lines of self-profit, when they will use their eyes in concurrence with it.

People who would cure all the ills of humanity by theoretical legislation, are no more practicing self-discipline than a farmer who turns out his hogs to pasture, thinking they will till his soil with their snouts.

People must work for the profits from discipline, the same as from any other labor. The great task confronting humankind today—in effecting any government that is worth its powder and shot—is not regularity of attendance at the polls, so much as an intelligent analysis and a recognition of the true leader from the partisan henchman seeking selfish profit from the filling of an office.

The party henchman is necessary, the ward-heeler is necessary, the demagogue is necessary, the international busybody is necessary—but only to throw true leadership in a highlight on the screen of public intelligence.

¶ Civilization with discipline, then, is not regularity of voting, so much as voting intelligently. It is not party adherence, so much as personal performance in cool-brained analysis. It is not the tenets of political education, however constructive in their essence, so much as a selection of men who typify those tenets most accurately ✻ ✻



The cry to select wise leaders is old, old—as old as the race and as banal as sod. We have now approximated

a state of society, however, where "leaders" are chosen, not for their integrities or sagacities, but for their popularities—and largely manufactured popularities—because the candidates for "leadership" have been found to be acquiescent to certain strategies that will advance the materialistic or racial interests of the men who sponsor them.


That is to say, we think the greatest leader is he who has attracted the greatest personal following. All of which is as great a piece of nonsense as calling some Hollywood screen featherhead a great leader because millions of women are willing to stampede theaters to see him act.

It say it dogmatically.

A monkey in a cage, cutting up antics, may jamb an entire city block with "followers" on a similar basis. Would we elect the monkey to the legislature? I grant you, however, that it too often happens. . . .

Thousands of so-called statesmen, of great "popular leadership," are actually little else than antic-cutting primates  

The crowd loves a show, and given a good-enough show, with basic human attractions, it will follow the showman down any grade and off into any bog, for its eyes are apt to be on the showman's exhibition, not on the pathway which he is pursuing.


The true leader is not always he who puts on a good show. Any passable trapeze performer may do that, and every tight-rope walker is "good for a crowd" 



¶ The true leader says: "I have analyzed the prospect, and now submit my theories for your cool consideration. If sobeit you approve of them, permit me the chance to put them into practice. If you prove that I am wrong in them, I agree to withdraw as graciously as possible. But I will endeavor to show you how to help yourselves, and as such I solicit your fidelity until such profit may be demonstrated."

The peanut politician, the demagogue, and the ranter, each say, conversely, "I am certain that never was man born so clever as myself. Come and see it proven." They make no pretense of helping men to help themselves. They simply pile up bricks so as to tower above the crowd and declare thereby that they are greater in stature than any of their neighbors.



IT IS a delicate subject, saying broadcast that there are not half a dozen real leaders on this basis in all America today, and less than a score throughout the whole world. It implies that thousands upon thousands of officeholders are mere demagogues or rogues. I do not say that exactly, and certainly do not mean it. I mean that the rank and file of officeholders and representatives are mainly nonentities as leaders; hoping—as harmlessly as possible and certainly without giving offense—to profit as legitimately as they can from their offices, if not in money then at least in prestige ❀ ❀

Where are those leaders whom I otherwise specify? Listen and I will tell you. They are found in that Little Handful of Earnest Men who have occasionally sought office purely to show humankind how to help itself 

¶ People who go in for office and office-holding, are usually persons with axes to grind. The entire history of the race, politically speaking, is a far flung parade of persons whose axe-heads glint in sunlight. Those axes may be pecuniary advantage, social prestige, better livelihoods for themselves and families, jobs for relatives—all the thousand and one opportunities for ascendancy above their fellows that come with civic endowment of powers. But they are literally Christs and Saviors, who throw all else aside and beg humankind to give them ear—because they ask to show humankind the path to its own Utopia, not the utopias that are themselves.  

Get this correctly:

We of America comprise a nation of misfits. We say in industry that we seek the right job for the right man. We do nothing of the sort. Men knock around from pillar to post all their lives, and society gives not a rap whether they are properly placed or not. Here and there a great humanitarian-employer tries to put the axiom into practice, and in a measure does so. But as a nation we live, work, and die, helter-skelter—and call it democracy. Finding the right job for the right man, is nobody's business but that of the man himself. He now sinks or swims, makes port or drowns, according

to his intelligence—which is too often that of a heart-broken child's. How, then, can we ask him to show sagacity in the choice of his leadership, when he can scarcely prescribe for his own daily contest?

There the problem rests, after a fashion, until we investigate that ingredient in human nature which permits any leadership whatever to exercise itself. But this thing is true:

Constitutional law, international law, national legislation, state jurisprudence, city politics, or ward-heeler's chicane—all have their parts to fill and their offices to administer, in the social structure. The problem of the student, as well as of the man in the street, is not to abolish, and not wholly to minimize, any one of these at the expense of the other.

The thing to be done is, to bring home to the student—and the average man as may be possible—the simple principles by which he can discern the true prophets, and the true properties and functions of each: and, having so decided, or rather interpreted, to supply him with some social force that makes him practice his discernments to a permanent, concrete profit.

Given twenty men with twenty problems, and yet with one administrator, how shall they choose that administrator, and why should they choose him, to make order from the social confusion represented by this score of quandaries?

That is the task of the true administrator—not the ward-heeler who swaps tons of coal for blind allegiance, or

the demagogue who pulls the American Eagle's tailfeathers to make him scream on schedule.

It is the province of such super-intelligence, to see in men everywhere their own solutions to their own social perplexities, and bring out their collective initiative and ingenuity, to get them permanent satisfaction from the answers.

THE SEVENTEENTH DISCUSSION

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THE SEVENTEENTH DISCUSSION



OLUTIONS so evolved are the lasting solutions—or rather, the only solutions which effect a profit that endures. To understand the task of the true administrator, however, we should now look nakedly at that unpleasant curiosity which intrudes on our attention—which intrudes most officiously on any real leader's program and causes him most annoyance—to wit: The Political Mind! . . .

Calvin Coolidge once said that the Political Mind was a law unto itself. It fascinated him. He saw in it the workings of an eccentric force, manifesting in few other aspects of human endeavor.

He was right in such perception.

The Political Mind is a strange combination of conceit and sacrifice, both having their basis in a form of self-ennoblement. That is to say, the Political Mind considers itself above all other minds in that it believes itself omnipotent to govern.

This is really a form of retrograde, for the higher the true spirit climbs, the less it desires to dominate and the more it desires to serve.

"Governing" spirits are spirits that fail in the main to recognize their own defects. They believe themselves ordained to exercise offices over their fellows because of superior merit which they possess. But true "superior merit" never functions that way. True superior merit sees in service True Government, for he who serves exercises control over him who is served.

The servant is positive. The one served is negative.

¶ Negative people enjoy being served because it makes up for something which they recognize they lack ~~to~~

¶ Strange as it may appear, people who accept service as their due are woefully decadent in virile spirituality. They lack the versatility of self-reliability. They see no merit in the giving of themselves to others, for they realize subconsciously that they would be throwing themselves away on specimens like themselves.


Serving-people are baby gods!



This does not mean that every dull-eyed servant is a god—infantile or otherwise. Some serve because they are made to serve, either by circumstances or the wills of others. We are discussing volunteer service as ministration or administration.

Do not confuse servants with "persons who serve." . . . The first are those small souls who are compelled to wait on others because they lack the initiative to play higher roles. "Those who serve" give more thought to

the well-being of others than to themselves.

The Political Mind is a mind given over to a sort of "decadent" service. It measures that service in terms of browbeating those about it, into accepting that which is offered and liking it. It sees no merit in leadership as we have discussed it—that is, letting the public mind lead the public activity—and attempting to control both by indirect influence. It wants to be at the head of the procession or not be any part of it. It wants the public to do as it is told, and calls the telling "leadership."

On the whole, it should be pitied, for nine times out of ten it exhibits inferiority in its grossest, silliest forms 

¶ Calvin Coolidge rightly said that the Political Mind is a phenomenon. It opens only to suggestions that have its own well-being at heart, and beyond that does not think  

For instance, a man decides that he will run for office. There is no especial reason why he should run for office. He knows there is no special call for him and him alone. He simply feels that if he can get elected to an office it will vaguely satisfy his hunger for recognition. Or maybe other factors motivate him. He wants money or prestige, to consummate an event that is social or personal, or he wants to provide recognition for his friends or relatives in order to discharge vague private obligations. He may have any one of a dozen motives.

I once knew a country publisher who went through four costly and unsuccessful campaigns in attempts to become governor of a certain New England state. As a

young man, a more affluent suitor had been his rival in love. He won the girl finally by making her a vow that if she married him he would one day raise her to be Governor's Lady. This editor is now a somewhat cynical man, going down the hill of life, married to a woman who does not omit to remind him on occasions that his promise is still unkept. He is otherwise a political power in his State, but his basic motivation came from striving to please the whims of a vain, ambitious woman. There are such cases by the thousand, if the truth could be known. But rarely, if ever, would the Political Mind consider serving its fellows for their own good without any recognition or "clay emoluments."

Of course this last is a hard test to apply to any man. All life is a form of Expression and in political life Expression becomes sublimated until it is perverted.

Man's life is not his own to live, however, strange as it may sound. He lives it in conjunction with the whims and influences exerted upon him by scores of others, many of whom have rightful demands upon him.

He lives because others live.

There could be no such thing as one human unit in the entire universe, because it would be static. It could not express itself. It could only wander aimlessly around a geographical location, and nothing it might accomplish would enduringly mean anything. It could not talk, sing, play, enjoy poetry, paint pictures, or run a business, for it would be a nonentity in all of these pursuits ❀ ❀

We acquire identity in the exact instant that there is one other person in our vicinity—not before.

Our lives are the mirrors to all other lives.

We are bound by what they say and do because we in turn exist. They in turn cannot have identity without ourselves as a part of the earthly picture and ensemble.

¶ Therefore, I repeat, it is impossible for a human person to live unto himself. But there is a trait in human nature—and it crops out strongest in the Political Mind—that would have us believe that human nature must exist to be ruled, or it cannot rightfully exist at all.

Now in a measure this is so, but the Political Mind interprets this in terms of rulership by other human beings, usually themselves, never by principles, or social confluences, or legal reflexes.

I wish that I might shout this from every housetop in the world: The social mind of the race is its own true leader-ruler!

The Social Mind, I say, not the Political Mind, and—to be consistent with my chapter on Autocracy—only after each division, or only as each division, has acquired a Social Mind. This goes, whether it be the Group Consciousness, or the person who is thinking of society in terms of constructive values.

The Political Mind says, "Men are deficient. They lack leadership, so let it be pressed upon them. I neither admit nor deny my qualifications to act as sponsor for their behavior. I simply know that by making myself

popular I can gain acclaim in office, and in office I can satisfy my caprices as they arise."

Of course the Political Mind does not speak these words exactly, but its context holds this meaning.

A further strange feature—or rather, factor—in the political mentality, too, is the propensity to think of itself in terms of Agnosticism. It says to itself, "I may be omnipotent and I may be otherwise, I may be a god and I may not be a god, there may be a ruler over men's destinies or there may not be a ruler over men's destinies. Truth to tell, I care not, and in that which I seek I am sufficient unto myself. I can take this office and I can use it to my profit, so why should I not do so? Who shall stop me? God? Let Him do it, but I doubt that He will bother. Who shall curb what I may say, so long as I register it sufficiently to achieve my dominant purpose?" ❖ ❖



MEN have died for their political convictions. That is not saying they were political-minded. To be political-minded one must think in terms of divine abstractions but personal profits. To be political-minded one must think in terms of social perversions, if need be, to accomplish the purpose that is private. One must disregard the ordinary laws governing humankind and set up laws unto oneself.

This does not mean that everyone who does so is political-minded. But the Political Mind, as a rule, sees human nature as a herd of cattle or flock of sheep, easily led, thrice easily butchered or profitably sheared. It has no real respect for human nature else it would not try to rule it for some gain. Its dictates are personal. Its ambitions are personal. Its achievements may be public but the rewards from those achievements must ever be selfish, else they are not rewards.

Take the Political Mind, for instance, in relation to such a subject as the tariff.

We know that the tariff, properly exercised, is a vast protective measure for struggling and defenseless industries unable to withstand economically the lowered costs of foreign manufacture. It is adopted by a country to make its own manufacturers strong, and able to realize profits. And yet no one is interested in it concretely aside from those manufacturers specifically benefitted. In a general way the public is interested, knowing that the prosperity of its industries means a

high standard of living. But the tariff as a political subject is even of greater interest to the Political Mind, than to specific manufacturers who may benefit under it ~~It~~ ¶ The Political Mind is not interested in the tariff as raiser of the level of prosperity, startling as the assertion may read, and I will attempt to prove it. It is not interested in the tariff as a subject for political debate, pro or con, because tariff is the driest subject for debate that the mind of man can fasten on. It is not interested in the tariff as a defensive measure for general industry. It is not interested in the tariff because the tariff holds any vital place in the public head or heart. And yet the tariff is ever a political shibboleth and a favorite haunt of the Political Bug. Why?

When a man builds a house, he buys boards and nails and window-frames and shingles. He hires carpenters to work by the day or week, and out of their labors applied on materials he finally gets a structure that houses his family.

He builds that house for a specific purpose, let us say. It adorns the neighborhood—in fact it may be the show place of the district, with fine lawns and beautiful approaches. But first, last, and always, the house is a protection against the elements, in which a human group undergoes the vicissitudes of family life. That is not saying the house is beautiful, or that it adorns the neighborhood, because it is serviceable. The house is a house, and as such it is accepted. Beauty or adornment is superfluous.

Now consider the tariff in terms of the house. It has a purpose to achieve, which is service to a group. But does the Political Mind recognize that service? Yes, in a measure. It recognizes that service as something contributing to its own enhancement. If there were no streets of houses, humankind would be living in caves or tents—certainly not in the advanced stages of social convenience of abode in which we find it today. And it would not be facile to the manipulation of politics as politics is “played” today. Persons living in caves or tents would naturally be of a low order of intelligence. The Political Mind therefore sees the tariff as a sort of social convenience, accepted in its potency but abstract in application to politics as such. This may be going around the stump to express a trite metaphor but under full elucidation it is more. . . .

The tariff is a sort of house that shelters the well-being of Prosperity, protecting society from economic storms and permitting those who dwell within it to live in reasonable comfort of spirit. The Political Mind accepts the house as all of these. But it goes one step further. It believes that the house should conform to certain patterns of architecture when it is in the acclaimed location. The Political Mind believes the house should be made of certain materials—brick for instance, when it owns a brickyard. It believes the house should be constructed by workmen of a certain type—when it is running an employment agency with workmen to hire out. ¶ All of which is saying backhandedly that the Political

Mind sees the tariff as a political expedient for its personal enhancement.

It cares nothing for the tariff as a great defensive measure. It only knows that the tariff is prolific in chances for making itself popular with moneyed interests, association with which can fatten its purse ❧

¶ The Political Mind has no use for the tariff, otherwise. Self-enhancement is the first law of its nature. It sees in the tariff an instrument for self-preservation, and the tariff tinkers are mainly those who Want Something, publicly or privately.

True, economic conditions change from generation to generation. Foreign-trade influences strengthen or weaken. The tariff must be changed accordingly. But how often is it changed actually by students of economics? Read the newspapers. Students of economics have a fight on their hands from first to last during every revision of tariff schedules.

The law of What-Is-There-In-It-For-Me supersedes the law of Supply and Demand—and every other law ❧

¶ Persons whom no stretch of the human imagination could ever make into economic students, promptly come forward and announce themselves as saviors of all industry. It is altogether laughable.

Senators, congressmen, lawyers, advocates of public reform and jugglers of petty interests, all climb into the band wagon and shout, "Get aboard with us . . . we are off to save the tariff!" . . .



THE Political Mind abets all this in the exact ratio that it has axes to grind. The United States senator in a measure has a legitimate axe to grind—and mayhap the congressman—for each represents districts whose interests may be affected by too drastic tariff revisions. But outside of those is a great mob of sycophants and self-seekers—Political Minds at their worst—seeking to influence Government for private gain. Make no mistake about this: Not all senators and congressmen, not all officers of government, are political-minded. Some of our best office holders in America have been our poorest politicians. Woodrow Wilson was one. Grover Cleveland was another. Abraham Lincoln was a third. This may cause a retort from some quarters, for the Lincoln legend attests to the contrary. But I submit that Lincoln knew human nature, not politics. Had he known Politics and been political-minded in the true sense of abstract interest converted into political profit personally, he would have been continually in office, or after office, from early manhood. He knew how to play upon human nature and achieve his purpose, and in a great crisis he utilized his knowledge to a sublimated degree. But time after time in his biography, incidents are shown, and evidence is apparent, that he loathed and despised the Political Mind and would have small part in its ramifications. The Father of his Country had a similar complex. To Washington, politicians and Political Minds were

anathema. He even had no use for political parties—as is indicated by his Farewell Address. He knew he had to use them to gain his objectives in a statesman-like way, but he was utterly impervious to the call of office, and did more for his country after he had retired from office than while he tacitly filled it.

These things are enigmas to the man in the street. He blandly sees public office as a public trust. He thinks there is something surpassing clever in the bon mot that “a statesman is a politician who is dead,” and yet he pays his allegiance to politicians, accrediting them as being statesmen in embryo.

“Given a politician prolific of opportunity and the product will be a statesman,” reasons Mr. Average Man; who, by the way, is very rarely political-minded himself. He sees public office as something that is sacred, which is why he approaches public officers with awe. He acknowledges in them a kinship with the forces that operate the universe and—higher even than those forces—the Unknowable Something he calls the Almighty ❖ ❖

Nowhere and at no time does he see human nature grossly serving petty ends. Even the basest ward-heeler, cleaning the boots of the party boss, is a sublimated ego partaking of divinity in his office holding, and when he falls or is superseded, Mr. Average Man feels a quake of concern for the body politic. It transcends his reason or intellect and becomes a part of instinct. He does not want to admit—even to himself—

that he can be hoaxed by those who hold political power over him. He knows that he often is hoaxed, and resents it; but he resents it because of his own self-esteem, not because he worries about the governmental structure ✻ ✻

Given a group of men with as many votes as there are voters, they will vote, or abstain from voting, not so much from their political convictions as from the fact that they want the civic order preserved.

They recognize the need for it, subjectively.

They want it preserved at any cost, because it means the authority which must maintain over the other fellow or—they fear—he will run amuck. They will, therefore, vote to keep the basest ward-heeler in power rather than vote for the extinction of the tribe, bad though it may be ✻ ✻

It is really a manifestation of social panic that makes the ward-heeler, with his crooked politics, possible. It is a form of social misrepresentation of government that permits the political-minded to seek office and gain privately during incumbency.

Men are inclined to feel that Politics as it is now considered, is—like the poor—omnipresent and forever irremediable. They cannot see that the "strange force" behind the Political Mind, motivating it, is social selfishness, pure and simple.

I said that I knew a man who gave the best years of his life and most of his substance toward "making" the governorship of a certain New England State. He neg-

lected his newspaper business, made enemies, wasted his time and assets generally, trying to attain to the gubernatorial position. He had so bargained with a young woman if she would be his wife, and was soured and depressed when his Party did not reward his efforts with the coveted "prize." His motives were peculiar, and highly illustrative of the point I would make

¶ The girl married him and they were happy otherwise in their marital union—if happiness ever does come to the wife of a newspaper publisher in New England. But the husband never looked at himself in the mirror without recalling his boyhood troth. Again and again he turned up in the fight. He became the perennial candidate. Once he got as high as the lieutenant governorship. But he never did make the top. His wife has long since taken their bargain with a redeeming sense of humor. Her affluent suitor had reverses of fortune in the course of the years and is now the highly respected proprietor of a corner filling station. But the husband does penance each night in the dark. . . .

What a travesty on political leadership as statesmanship! I am not saying that this would-be governor was not gracious in his private life, sincere in his obligations toward his fellowman, orderly in his civic deportment, commendable as a citizen, and an excellent editor as editors go. But Politics to him was a List of Chivalry in which he must wear his lady's glove and vindicate his honor—not to mention his lowly station as a youngster—gaining prestige in the eyes of his wife's

relatives unto the tenth generation ✻ ✻ ✻ ✻
Having spent twenty years of my life as a newspaper publisher, where Politics was a department of my business, I can call similar incidents to mind. We have men who go in for Politics because it gives them the opportunity to work out land grudges. This is particularly true in the South. I knew a man in one of the Carolinas who tried for years to attain to a county judgeship because his father and an uncle had been basely cheated out of a great tract of land whose boundaries were indefinite. Not that he could settle them as judge, but the office offered opportunities for debasing and defeating every action which might be brought before him in which family enemies were litigants.

Men have gone into Politics for the sheer love of power which they fancy is enjoyed by those highly seated. What do they find on attaining to such eminence? They are bound to the wheel of party performance, their "power" is a farce, office-holding is a debauchery of all their finer instincts, and they have retired broken and defeated men—even if they have had the chance to retire alive.

Which some of them have not!



LET US for the moment then, glance into the Political Mind as a social monstrosity and see what we find in it besides the selfish motives listed . . . ¶ First, we find love of power, which is an alternative to meanness of birth or station.

Second, we find conceit which enables the person involved to rely on his office, instead of his character, to bring him an accolade.

Third, we find love of money, which enables him to gratify his animal appetites, however respectable they may be—for no man goes into office expecting no financial returns, except in times of great national stress.

Fourth, we find love of personal display; since every man who goes in for office knows that he must remain continuously in the public eye and satisfy the dictates of popular acclaim. To do that effectively, he must dress conspicuously. So we are treated to the frock coat and big Stetson hat that so often mark the small-fry senator or congressman.

Fifth, we have love of personal appeal making for enhanced prestige in the man's own estimation, since persons of real appeal to their fellows are scarcely ever aware of it.

Sixth, we have love of cheap glory that cares not from what source the acclaim may come—so long as it does come and is sufficiently noisy and dramatic. No man enters Politics without deporting himself with a dignity, he would not attempt otherwise, and while in cases this

is commendable, the Political Mind associates dignity with success in attaining to the office, since its deportment to get the office is frequently so childish that it makes of itself an object of pity.

Seventh and last—and most deplorable—we find a trait which makes the candidate depreciate his fellows even to the point of looking on them with contempt . . . that they should be so stupid as not to penetrate his cardboard front and see the smallness of the soul behind it ❀ ❀



WE NEED, nay the necessity, of the great country of America today—in fact of all countries throughout the earth—is for statesmanship of the highest leadership. But the Political Mind as such, is a bugbear, a necessary evil, an anathema to soundly thinking men, and a travesty on political intelligence.

Given the universe without a single Political Mind, it would run along nicely. We would have few wars or rumors of wars. We would be able to conduct our business with other nations with a minimum of friction and mutual distaste. We would have opportunity to exhibit our true selves as people of integrity dealing with others of integrity.

And what a dearth of male feather-heads there would be to pull the chestnuts out of the governmental fire for the international, financial, and predatory racial interests—that have only to load up a political system with such

in order to control it at their pleasure ❁ ❁ ❁
Understand me, I do not confuse the Political Mind with the demagogue, although it is true that most demagogues are political-minded. Also notice that I have persistently used the term "political"-minded and not "politically" minded.

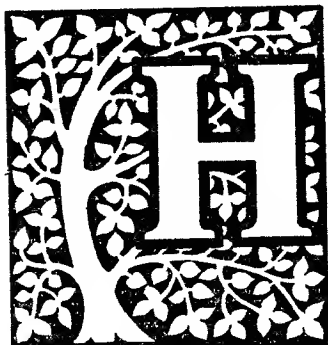
The political mentality is concurrent with the demagogue's, and the two share single beds. It is equally potent in destructive power when constructive statesmanship is the need of the moment, for immediately it must determine its own conduct in terms of petty strategy and level its achievements to the dictates of the "possible" ❁ ❁

Let us look upon the Political Mind with compassionate understanding, with pity more than with contempt on rancor; for it is either a case of badly arrested spiritual development, or, to those versed in such matters, a Decadent Spirit seeking to reestablish itself by false standards instead of undergoing the beauties of rigorous experiencing.

THE EIGHTEENTH DISCUSSION

NATIONS - IN - LAW

✿ ✿ THE EIGHTEENTH DISCUSSION ✿ ✿



HERETICAL as the statement may sound to some, and making due allowance for the Political Mentality, the tradition of "self government" which we Americans are "taught" is farcical in one respect: It fails utterly in naturalness!

In other words, it contradicts fundamental aspects of human nature.

It makes the average American say, "We have governed ourselves ever since we have had a nation, therefore we are quite capable of governing ourselves indefinitely ✿ ✿"

It makes him confide to his children: "Our government is the best that has ever been devised and the people of no other country enjoy such liberty as we."

It makes him upbraid his relatives in the family of nations, "When you get ready to govern yourselves, you poor blundering idiots, come and sit at our feet and learn how to do it." In all of which he is not merely an insufferable prig. He is a lamentable ignoramus.

The American knows nothing of internationality. He interprets it bumpiously as some sort of supra-nationalism. He makes no efforts to understand his neighbors. They are quarrelsome children toward whom his attitude is one of condescension.

He has no racial erudition.

He considers it the height of folly to waste his time on world politics, paying it the derogation of classifying it with precinct politics in New York or Chicago and emphasizing the stupidities of international ward-heelers to prove that his analogy is correct.

He sees no immediate profit, spiritually, intellectually, or financially, in keeping abreast with world conditions, unless he be in the export business, when his "studies" consist of acquiring a few foreign tongues—that cannot be understood abroad—and absorbing tariff schedules.

¶ The American is discreet in his inter-national life in that he does not want his country committed to foreign entanglements, regardless of the fact that his understanding of entanglements amounts to the same bombastic stupidity that his understanding of internationality does, and is the acme of indiscretion insofar as his world interests are paramount to his personal interests. But the American has no nationality as such. His political background is colored by magniloquence.

I am an American, born in Massachusetts, a product of the public school system as it was before the Great Pollution from Europe. I have been manufacturer, newspaperman, publisher, novelist, war correspondent,

sociologist, and now I suppose one might label me political economist. But I was reared in all the ebullient "patriotism" of the post-Spanish-War period when the Grand Army of the Republic was still a power in the land, and many of my gray-haired friends could recall Abraham Lincoln. I fought my way up through most of the trials and vicissitudes of the New England town boy with his own way to make. Then this thing happened—

When I was twenty-seven years of age, I became one of five writing men sent out to the Orient by a religious subsidiary of the Rockefeller Foundation to make a journalist's survey of Protestant Foreign Missions. When the Siberian Intervention occurred, I donned a khaki uniform and went with the Japanese troops to Manchuria. I will not say that my experiences in Japan, or on the battlefields of North China and Asiatic Russia, made me any less bombastic about the cultural advantages of the American background. But emphatically they widened the scope of my vision and gave me the angle of trenchant perception of the American psychology in world events.

I was brought face to face with the perturbing suspicion that the United States, as a country and a psychology, was not much different—or bigger—than the village of Wilmington, Vermont, where I had once owned the county newspaper. This gradually brought the realization that to those of us who call ourselves truly patriotic, the United States is not a country so much as

a Christian Ideal—and grossly misinterpreted by provincial proselytes. . . .

True patriotism consists, it seems to me now, in taking the best out of my country that seems beneficial to the rest of humanity and offering it to the world in a militant vigilance, at the same time realizing that no one country has any monopoly on what the human race needs generally for its advancement as a species.

I returned home in 1919, convinced that this Christian Ideal was workable internationally but that the United States as a country was becoming little more than a geographical location. I returned with the sorrowful conviction that Americans as such no longer exist, excepting those in the provincial hill towns, or when there are trade advantages sought by big corporations under the guise of "American advancement." . . .

Do not misunderstand me. I love my country as an enduring ideal which I believe will eventually be embraced by the principal nations of the earth during the lifetime of the present generation, as the true foundation for an international structure. But I do not agree with that magnificent jingoism of Stephen Decatur, "My country right or wrong." Such a policy I call the height of provincialism and arrested sociological development. . . .

I see gross faults and inadequacies in both my country's Constitution and its civic structure. Neither do I concur with my patron saint, Lincoln, that "the People" as a mob are capable of governing themselves—that is to say, governing without the offices of paternal leaders,

older spiritually than the average citizen, to determine what is best for them. More and more I tend to agree with Alexander Hamilton—in all kindness and loving toleration for muddled human nature as modern life finds it—" . . . your people, my dear sir, are a great beast." This is not a slur on the average man. The erudite should discern that it is far from declaring the American people, or any people, to be essentially beastly. It is simply looking at history, and particularly the developments of American history, through the spectacles of the surgeon or vivisectionist.



American history is one vast roster of events tending to prove to the orderly and analytical-minded that people en masse—even the so-called Aryan races—when left to themselves, are not swayed by their intellects so much as by their passions. The history of my country, from the opening phases of the Revolution to the closing phases of the great World War, has been one long Armageddon of sectionalism of the most aggravated type, swayed—yes ruled—by the most childish caprices and animosities. It has been well nigh impossible for true economists to make themselves heard in government at any time during the period thus stigmatized. By economists I do not mean political theorists, largely Communist-Jewish in character, acting as "advisers" to the Roosevelt Administration. True economists, that is, men capable of accurately estimating the nature and worth of our recent economic system, and constructive statesmen, have only been able to exercise their talents

and offices through the various mediums of commerce. Commerce in its turn has "played politics" for its own subsistence and protection, whereas "the people" so dear to the demagogue, with the most infantile perversity, seem to have arisen against every strategic move launched in government for their sensible improvement.

¶ It is a constitutional American reflex to hear of something logical and "be agin it."

The history of the Revolutionary War comprises a ten-year travesty on social cohesion and intellectual administration of public affairs. Washington had to flog many of his men at Valley Forge to prevent desertions, while the Continental Congress in its own turn pursued a course that was one long and idiotic desertion of the Commander-in-Chief. If it be argued that undue personal suffering was the cause for such discontent, let it be stated that there was no real economic cause for such privation. History of a nature rarely in evidence in our public schools, records that there were colonists within a hundred miles of Valley Forge during the crucial winter that made Valley Forge famous, who grew wealthy by selling foodstuffs to the British army in and about Philadelphia. The country, per capita, was of course far poorer than it has ever been since. But a careful and studious delving into the causes of the tribulations of the Revolutionists, brings overwhelming proof that independence was won by a chaotic accumulation of individual units in Sectionalism, out of which the genius of Washington brought order and military victory. It

was far from being a mass movement, intellectually decided upon as a social compact for a constructive purpose. Time and again the Father of His Country had to castigate the colonial legislatures, even to the point of effrontery and insult, to get soldiers and supplies. He had to beg from door to door, so to speak, for united support against the common enemy.

It was Washington who won the American Revolution—only to retire to Mount Vernon with more odium and obloquy on his princely head than is currently heaped on Benedict Arnold. Little Americans are rarely shown these phases of their country's genesis in their public school "training"; therefore they delude themselves later with patriotic half truth and self-laudatory axioms. ¶ True, Washington's social intellectualism was ultimately vindicated, and some would probably argue from this that the American people are at heart intellectual. One has only to read history, as I say, not out of popular third-grade text books but from such stupendous compendiums of national psychology as Beveridge's "Life of Marshall," to realize that this very removal of obloquy was brought about through the offices and instrumentalities of certain similar supermen who came to the front and welded the thirteen struggling and apathetic colonies into the semblance of a nation  

No one, of any political party, I contend, can conscientiously read the aforesaid "Life of Marshall," no matter how biased he may be in favor of his party, without ad-

mitting that had not the first Chief Justice, and others like him, stood out courageously against almost overwhelming popular clamor, the American nation in any one of a dozen crises would have ceased to exist.

Probably the most glaring illustration of public inadequacy to recognize what made for social solidarity and national prosperity, was the popular attitude toward both the first and second United States Banks. Scarcely an incident is found in the history of our Constitutional period where the populace was wholeheartedly behind the measures and expedients which worked toward the permanent establishment of the American Ideal in government. The people as "the people" were the constantly disturbing influences that had to be cajoled and coddled into what was most beneficial and discreet in administration. Time and again they bit the hands that fed them, until today it is an axiom that "Democracies know no gratitude."

Of course it is true that man in the abstract does not know gratitude, for gratitude is an insistence on proper compensation of some sort for acts performed for the social welfare, and until welfare is established by the proper perspective of time on events, compensation is not accurately possible. Only when Great Souls have vindicated their policies before posterity, does compensation accrue to them in the form of mystical penance by the children of those who once scourged or crucified them ❀ ❀

The American people have always been tolerant and

kindly in their private lives and characters—Aryan traits that are the outgrowth of Christian dogma, and followed, or rather accepted, with a reasonable amount of practical conscientiousness and a redeeming sense of humor. But when it comes to exhibiting traits which mark them as intellectualists in self-government, they are in the position of the small boy who said, "I wish my father were my own age, so that I could thrash him" . . . taking no account of the parent's wisdom but only desiring an effectual form for adolescent self-expression. ¶ Let us take such a people, therefore, as an institution in world affairs. . . .



HAVE nothing to gain by hurling pedantic sticks and stones. I hope that I speak from an unbiased worldly viewpoint when I say that Americans on the world stage are provincial and bigoted. They see themselves as doctors, surgeons, and prescribers of remedies, theoretically, for the rest of humanity. But why do they do this? Suppose we examine in logic this unusual trait that leads them to believe that they are divinely appointed to minister to the universe.

I submit that it is the prerogative of the child in its lack of worldly wisdom, to want to thrash the parent because the latter will not concede that the child knows anything. This so angers the child that it wants to enforce its ideas when they gain no recognition otherwise ✱

¶ It is the child's prerogative to think in its ignorance

that because it has found its own toes, no one else up to the moment has ever participated in toe finding, and therefore its toe finding is something to be acclaimed *✱*

¶ I contend that it is the child's prerogative to be self-conscious, or rather, overly conscious of itself during those years when it is striving to fit itself into the pattern of society as it exists.

I declare that it is the child's prerogative to want to know more than it does know, but that the interrogative psychology implies the self-expression of weakness; and, to cover this deficiency, it adopts a policy of bombast, on the principle that error or inadequacy may be covered by an offensive attitude which aims to distract attention from its insufficiency.

These points are common to all children and do not deceive the wise parent. They are really indications of developing maturity. The parent does not bethink himself to chastise the child for having natural and normal inclinations and attributes. Rather he condones with the child, and seeks to guide its positivisms into constructive channels, knowing that he, the parent, in his own turn was at one time equally ridiculous and annoying *✱ ✱*

The American people constitute an adolescent international unit both in time and historical experience. There is no call to arraign or castigate them for displaying the inclinations and attributes of youth, whether in the individual or in the state. The American people are not to be criticized either, for their lawlessness, phleg-

matism, or collective stupidity, during a youthfully constructive period. They are not to be cajoled or coddled, on the other hand, in their present self-delusion that they are the only people enjoying the patronage of the Almighty, that they can make no mistakes, and that they can instruct older civilizations in ways of self-improvement; any more than the child or the youth is to be criticized, arraigned, or castigated for displaying the bombast, conceit, and frequent petulancies of adolescence 🌿 🌿

It is no lack of patriotism which impels us to look upon them as they are—nakedly—and, as social physicians, appraise them for their good and bad points, their political chicken-pox or their cultural whooping-cough. ¶ I repeat, I hold no brief for my country because she happens to be my country. I hold every brief for her because she is young, healthy, vigorous, and going through a period of adolescent growing pains with attendant annoyances and aggravations. I hold every brief for her because she was founded on the Christian Ideal of fair play and equal opportunity insofar as either is possible in a world where imperfections are permitted for a purpose.

I look upon my country as a great world state that has not yet come to maturity or into a proper sense of racial obligation! 🌿 🌿

I look at her as a vast arena where great principles may be challenged and vindicated, or shown to have merit.

¶ I look at her as a divinely indicated laboratory where-

in the best that is projected by all races may be brought forward, examined, assayed, analyzed, and offered for international use or international disapproval according as its worth is determined by the microscopes of intellectualism and universal sophistries.

My country is dear to me, but my forebears over many generations came from English stock with a strong dash of Irish. I can trace my genealogy back to Sir John Pelley, knighted by Queen Elizabeth, for the Lord knows what. And it is inherent in the Englishman to tear himself to pieces, to say what he likes about his own kin, abuse himself and his institutions to his heart's content, but knock prostrate the outsider with the temerity to indulge in similar tendencies. My country, to me, as I have said, is both an Ideal and a geographical location. It is not the concretion of a culture. Therefore I can criticize her surgically with no dishonorable implications. I love her and will fight for her, as I certainly am doing at present at no little hazard and distress to myself. But I will have no part nor parcel in the twin theories, first that she can do no wrong, and, second, that in all which her adolescence advocates she is surpassingly correct.

Her position is not correct in something like ninety percent of what she does officially. She is a greater muddler in domestic affairs than England, and this is not wholly due to a presumptuous Jewish influence, either. She is a land without a foreign policy excepting that of isolation, which is not a policy but a screen for timidity.

She is a land without a political conscience, granted that any nation has one, a land of bombast and huckstering, of knife-and-fork diplomacy and F. W. Woolworth culture. Metaphorically speaking, she revels in going about in suspenders and imprinting boot-heel marks on the polished floors of nations more sophisticated. Figuratively, she chews tobacco and thinks a manicure effeminate. She wishes other peoples to believe that such practices indicate honesty, integrity, and virile strength of character. She is altogether too prone to offer vulgarity for sociability, excoriate the scholar, and hoot at sobriety and official integrity. A movie star passes into the oblivion of eternity and the streets about the undertaker's shop are mobbed by his admirers. But a world-famous college president dies on the same day and the event is "good" for two paragraphs on the inside page of a newspaper whose front is smeared with screaming headlines about the movie sheik's career ❀

¶ Such things are not deplorable, however. They are simple evidences of my country's adolescent culture, again looked at academically. My country on the whole is the blatant hoyden among the nations, made worse at present by a passing Administration of bedlamite Yiddishers. What folly, therefore, to say that she has the best form of government ever devised or instigated, simply because she lacks the maturity to realize how ridiculous such a statement may sound to others. My country is even insolent at times, when her swagger is part of a foreign policy that is not a foreign policy.

But that is no reason why she should be described as incorrigible, or that in time she will not lend herself to a more kindly attitude and maturer judgment in dealing with the world.

I am coming to a point now which is extremely delicate, and yet this book would be deficient in one of its strongest pleas for consideration if I neglected to expound upon it. . . .

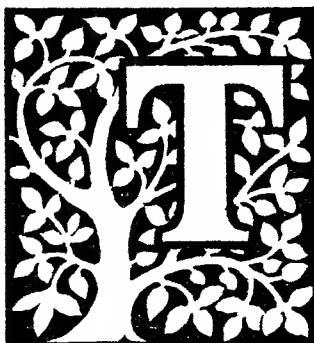
That is, my country's attitude toward her sister States as expressed in a League of Nations.

THE NINETEENTH DISCUSSION

NATIONS - IN - LAW



THE NINETEENTH DISCUSSION



HE UNITED STATES, I have said, is a child—economically, culturally, and politically—in the structure of the social universe. She knows not where to lay her head excepting upon her own doorstep. When it comes to finding a lodging place among other nations as compatriots, she is in the position of the child who wants to be friends with all the other scholars in the school but refuses to go through that period of social initiation making it one with its fellows. She hates to be called backward in the international comities, yet fears to exercise too much initiative in concernment over obligations that may cost her more than the compensations may be worth.

America's policy of isolation is not one of heroism but of bravado. She does not want to assume her place at the green baize table among the nations of the world for two reasons. First, she is fearful of them, her amateur diplomats not knowing how to cope with foreign pro-

fessionals; second, she does not know how to behave socially or culturally. The first she covers with bravado like any adolescent who employs swagger to hide the quaking of her own heart at the maturer forces arrayed against her. The second she hides with an air of superiority, or in other words, an evincement—almost officially expressed—that her standards of right and wrong, her belief in her own invincibility, her tendencies to keep away from entangling alliances, are premised on the theory that she has made greater progress governmentally than any other State and should therefore be accredited with greater prestige.

She is, of course, ridiculous in both of these positions and fools no one but herself. The other nations of the earth, "backward" or not, smile quietly. They treat her as a garish creditor from whom more favors may be gained if they but play up to her vanity. They see in America—governmentally speaking—a lucky accident. A colony of Englishmen went to a virgin part of the world and settled there. In due time they discovered the prodigious natural resources in the land to which they had acquired title by such pioneering. By Anglo-Saxon initiation, thrown on their own ingenuity in an isolated hemisphere where the rigors of climate kept them active, they became a powerful coagulation of political entities, with the psychology prevailing among hill-billies and back woodsmen—of being sufficient unto themselves, politically, economically, and culturally ✱

¶ This attitude on the part of other world States is one

of condonement, or at least toleration, because, culturally speaking, the majority of them are adults.

I am talking now of States that are ever eager to see the status quo of peoples and nations maintained all over the planet. True, certain major readjustments should be made, and could be made amicably if fears, prejudices, and military insistencies were not factors in inflaming racial animosities. But there seems to be no way in which this happy condition of affairs may be made permanent, even with America represented in the councils of world government. The nations of the earth have been schooled for centuries in the principle that differences of race make for political fences that cannot be leveled with impunity.

They know that to have a world government—call it League of Nations, World Court, League to Enforce Peace, Parliament of Man, or any other designation—means a relinquishment not of territories so much as the Ideal of Sovereignty in each instance, based on the cognizance that each race must be a law unto itself or it cannot endure.

They believe that to have a true League of Nations, Parliament of Man, or World Government, it is first necessary to abolish the idea of separate sovereignties; and the thought is abhorrent, being based on the primordial fright that the relinquishment of such sovereignties means ultimate annihilation, or loss of identity.

¶ They know and believe, or believe and think that they know, that wherever peoples have relinquished their

ideas of sovereignty, they have jeopardized and surrendered their national characters.

They see in a world system of super-government, only the opportunity for the ward-heeler or demagogue on an international scale, or the Machiavellian statesman, or the predatory Hebrew, to play fast and loose with national integrities, and control a situation where the race of greatest numbers, greatest wealth, or most adroit intellects, can make a cat's paw of all the rest, or any one of the rest, for its own selfish purposes and ambitions.

¶ This is virulent internationalism, as opposed to what I shall later speak of as Internationality.

Nevertheless, they are adults, culturally speaking, though their psychology in certain aspects may be that of the thirteen colonies at the close of the American Revolution. They want all the benefits to be derived from amalgamation but shrink from the possibilities of too close participation in a unified world system of sovereign intelligence dictating to them what is the greatest good for the greatest number.

They do not grasp the facts as to how they will be benefited. They only perceive how they will be injured.

¶ They do not arise to the possibilities of ennoblement. Rather, they sink in their discernments to the fatuities of international mediocrity.

They want the benefits that accrue from world order under super-government, but will not pay the price in sovereign relinquishments.

They are perfectly willing to gather around the green

baize table and discuss Utopia, but cannot wean themselves from the idea that Utopia is always impossible of attainment.

They delude themselves into thinking that there is some sort of immorality in departing from the evils of individuality and embracing one another collectively. They know, too, that the conniving World Jew is ever in the background striving for a solidified world State, that he may the more facilely perfect his strangling clutch on all Christian peoples by ruling such State.

They are afraid of the Shadow of Internationalism, and the wise statesmen among them promote this fear because they realize that the prevalent Internationalism is Hebrew-conceived, and Hebrew-fostered, for ultimate Hebrew ascendancy.

Men have ever fought wars, therefore men ever will fight wars.

Nations have ever acted individually; therefore, to attempt to act collectively must have the devil in it. The words of Our Lord, "beat your swords into plow-shares and your spears into pruning-hooks," are the shibboleths of weak, insolvent, or easily gulled peoples.

Nowhere is there a panacea for the troubles of the nations or the maladies of the races as races, because to look for such panaceas would doubtless precipitate the crowning cataclysm of all time—Universality!

America's attitude and psychology in confronting such rubbish is, on the whole, pathetic. She has the knowledge and experience of her own Constitutional period,

with the certification of her own Civil War, to assure her that unions of nations are no more impossible of attainment, improbable of execution, or derogatory in effect on individuals, than the federation of colonial commonwealths to make in time a national government of them all, which is the greatest benefit that could come to any political unit or provincial sectionalism.

She knows this from experience, I say, and is living the beneficial effects of such supra-structure in her own national life. Yet at the present time she negates it all, turns a deaf ear to scholasticism, refuses to see internationally the very thing for which she sets herself up in her own house, and outdoes colonial Massachusetts or Virginia in squabbling with sister colonies over relinquishments of sovereignty.

The idea seems to be, that there is something inherently wicked in the other fellow because his skin is of another color, because he speaks a different language or specializes in a different type of food. He is certain to provoke the worst social calamities if he be admitted into the fellowship of international accord. And all the time the other fellow is thinking the same way about all the rest of the races. The trend of Universality must of course be toward mediocrity, or—worse than mediocrity—national nihility or racial sterility.

In some strange and mysterious manner, for all nations to act in concert and solve their problems as a unit, is a Lucifer of Imperialism that is going to be released, who shall act toward the compatriots as a bloody tyrant

wholly apart from themselves, dictating the most intimate details of their lives and refusing to let the more enlightened, intellectually, enjoy any sort of culture that is not entered into by the crudest and coarsest in the international clan.

Men are no longer going to be men under that fearsome dictatorship, but churlish vassals, having neither voice nor influence in their own councils but finding themselves wholly at the mercy of the conniving, the ignorant, and the debased.

The scholar—not necessarily the idealist—looks on all of it with his tongue in his cheek. He sees that the truth of the matter lies in the fact that the politicians of world governments sense in Internationality that there may not be quite so many jobs, that they will not be allowed such fecund opportunities to mislead their constituents and set themselves up as arbiters of truth in government.

¶ It is the politicians of the world who are afraid of the supra-state idea and clamor most “patriotically” against it, not the masses nor the true world leaders.

The cheap and petty henchmen of existing orders in each country are really those to whom the thought of internationality is abhorrent and repellent. What will become of them when sincere and efficient officials of a great new world-order find them useless clutter around the machinery of administration and compel them to go back to plowing land or sweeping streets?

Even senators and congressmen, most vehement in their patriotism against any sort of supra-state, are not above

pulling the cloak of a fancied official nonentity around themselves to protect them from the gales of loss of power and prestige. If they contend that virile patriotism is behind their castigations of a great world-system of government, how comes it that they daily betray their sacred trusts for all sorts of social and pecuniary enhancements?

What is this bugaboo of calamitous Universality that threatens the nations under orderly world government?

¶ Whence comes it?

What mischiefs can it do the individual?

Let us consider the common man in any walk of life surrendering his "patriotism" to the nobler order. Take first his economic status. Will it possibly be improved or injured? . . .



THE LIFE of the ordinary man consists of eight hours of work, eight hours of leisure, and eight hours of sleep. The eight hours of sleep can be eliminated under any political system. Nature will see that they are not infringed upon. His eight hours of play are non-classifiable; he may elect to use them or he may not. Some races play harder than others, many scarcely know the meaning of Play under existing social structures. Some races play too much, particularly in warm countries where too much work means physical deterioration. At least Play is not a factor that might be called essential when considering the economics of a race in pure altruism. But when we come to Labor under a universal world-system, and the rewards thereof, and the expenditures that represent standards of living, we are opening the door on a formidable problem.

The economic status of any nation's life, however, is determined by the above three factors, Work, Play, Sleep. The last two are not subject to much analysis as factors. They consist of what might be called Recuperation, as opposed to eight hours of application of man's faculties to some activity that gains him his livelihood.

¶ While in a sense I am confining my thesis to the economic order among so-called Aryan peoples, nevertheless any man's economic status is indicated by the semblance of balance between these three. Steal sleep from him and he becomes incapacitated, though he may not realize it at once. Steal play or recreation from him and

he becomes stupid without knowing why. Keep his hours of work evenly balanced with his hours of sleep and play, and you have a man who is balanced physically, mentally, spiritually, and—in a preponderant percentage of cases—financially. Now then, the problem of daily living sifts to a process of preserving that balance ❀ ❀

True economics, we find, is as simple as this: The highest status of living that can be attained under any government, or social jurisdiction, that enables the human animal to balance his day into approximately this proportion. Sleep is necessary to recuperate his body. Recreation is necessary to recuperate his spirit. Both are requisite to offset his expenditure of energy in labor ❀ ❀

This is economics reduced to its simplest fundamentals. Laws of supply and demand, the expatriation of substances, the willingness of social bodies to contribute to the general welfare, financially or artistically, the problems of transportation, the speeding up of machinery, the scientific management of utilities—all these are nothing but the finer interpretations of the crude essence of Economics: allowing the average man in any country to balance his labor-day with an equal number of hours of spiritual and physical rest—that he may retain his maximum of efficiency as a social unit. This balance is so essential that many a so-called economist, not being much of a student of spiritual values, fails to recognize it entirely except as a principle in abstract eugenics.

Given a man with the power to so dictate his life that he can equally sustain his body, his spirit, and his family, economically, and you have a citizen who is capable of contributing maximum efficiency to any sort of public activity—social, civic, or cultural.

The body is a peculiar machine that expends a given amount of energy, for a given amount of values returned. It must revitalize itself daily. The spirit may be likened to a physical body of a finer quality of essences. It too must have the chance to reassemble the ingredients expended in labor.

The question of a man's economic status then, hinges on his physical and spiritual well being; not the plane of life on which he moves, or the social status which he inhabits, since a brick-layer or a millionaire-broker may both enjoy a high economic standard of living in their own orbits of existence if they are well nourished, well housed, and able to preserve the three-way balance between work, recreation, and repose.

We have so-called economists who argue that the introduction of machinery into labor tends toward the upsetting of those ratios in such a measure that they almost cease to exist as ratios, that the artisans of the Aryan races will soon have a three-hour working day in a five-day working week, which, as machinery is improved, will be still further reduced to a point where one day's work a week, or one hour's work a day, will answer for human sustenance with no diminishment in the status of living.

In fact the standards of living will be lifted, since more time for rest and recreation will produce a more intellectual human product by the very nature of the circumstances ✻ ✻

But those who thus contemplate humanity are again mathematicians who neglect the human equation and eternal verities. Along the line of contentions of such economists, the time might thus arrive when machines would do all the work, and humanity develop into a race of supermen because manual employment did not enter into their daily categories. A line of simple reasoning quickly upsets their calculations.

In the first place, if such trend—carried to extremes—were true, we might have the laborless peoples of the earth exhibiting the highest order of intelligence; whereas it requires no world traveler to attest that laborless peoples are the most indolent, unexpressive, turbulent, and static, on the earth's surface. Furthermore, when you so upset the economic ratios, you not only reckon on traits in human nature which do not as yet exist, but you take from the Life Experience the very thing which mankind is most intently in mortality to get: Discipline!

Labor is self-discipline.

Make no error here. Without such mental, moral, and spiritual discipline as orderly and lucrative labor provides, the group or the individual deteriorates so swiftly that you can almost watch the process.

We speak of persons "rusting out" when they have

made their fortunes and retired from business. By what theory, divine or demoniacal, can it be logicized, that when a whole race or species has retired from business by having made its fortune in machine adaptation, the exact opposite of rusting out will come into action and a race of super-intellectualists result?

Human nature is essentially lazy. Self-improvement is labor of the most strenuous kind. To say that the human race, divorced from the necessity for labor, will flower overnight into something beyond present social knowledge, is to deal in absurdities.

The human race, divorced from the necessity of laboring, would indulge in such a splurge of recreation, sport, entertainment, listless idleness, and general dissipation, that it would acquire a tedium that would drive it to suicide. Read again what happened to the great Roman Empire when the spoils of conquest brought an utopia of surcease from physical and mental exertion which the short-thinking economists predict so rosily—blood-glut and disintegration.

We are wasting white paper to argue such a point. Besides, this line of argument presupposes that mankind is going to continue under the machine age to the point that mechanistic invention induces a world of wizardry where the pressing of buttons accomplishes everything from putting on one's boots to encircling the globe in a couple of hours. Nothing becomes so stupid and intellectually sterile as those scientific novels of interplanetary travel wherein earth voyagers land on planets

where this machine-necromancy is brought to culmination. It is a sort of instinctive knowledge with such writers that makes them mechanize their distant planet-people as well, take individuality from them, give them monstrous heads and no bodies, and refer to them by numbers in lieu of names.

Mankind has no assurance that even the mechanical invention and progress of the past thirty years are going to maintain and expand consistently in the thirty years to come. That is an unwitting error made by people who are not well-grounded in divine esoterics.

Racial endowments go in cycles. The cycle closes and a long period of social digestion follows, when so-called Progress is at a cultural standstill.

Our mechanical age cannot be an exception. We would be violating a sort of cosmic law if it did so. It is my personal belief, based on evidence which I cannot enter into here, that our inventive geniuses of the opening years of the twentieth century are but the reborn souls of a school of mechanistic Atlanteans, sent into flesh again at this particular period to instruct and benefit the species by their talents and discoveries, though they may not always be aware of their identities and missions while such visitations are in progress.

I think they have come into mortal life as a group to supply a particular thing which our species requires at this particular stage of its social development, and that they will gradually depart life as a group—just as we had the Concord Group of Philosophers immediately

preceding them for similar reasons—and that after they are gone, mechanical inventiveness will remain more or less at a standstill until they are again sent to bring a renaissance of their specialty in human culture and carry society a little further and higher toward the real Utopia of disciplined spirituality.

We are by no means going to run amuck in inventiveness to the end of all time. If this assumption were not tenable, why should the race have taken such a great stride forward mechanically and inventively in this present generation? Why did we not have Ford automobiles, radios, and Graf zeppelins in the time of Queen Elizabeth? Why couldn't many of our modern conveniences have been "discovered" in the Napoleonic Era as well as today. The Napoleonic Era had minds just as brilliant and perceptive in all other lines of human thought as anything we can offer civilization as present, and yet not one among them could "think up" the ordinary flush-closet bathroom.

Men had the same types of brains, the same racial and political ingenuities, the same number of hands, arms, legs, in the Age of Pericles and Aristotle as in the Age of Edison and Millikan. Those who argue that the progress of invention and discovery is always cumulative, one discovery building in more complex form upon a simpler predecessor, seem to ignore that our species has been on this planet for a long, long time. All the present engineering skill in the world admittedly could not today construct the Great Pyramid or the Temple

of Karnac. Greater architects and builders than anything our modern civilization offers, have been in life in ages long closed. Why have we made such tremendous strides in the past sixty years in this one particular branch of social evolution—the mechanistic—and at the expense of esthetic culture?

Again we tread on the toes of mortal conceit when we discuss such matters and submit such contentions. Man hates to think that he is beholden to any Higher, “unscientific” Power for his cultural increments—which again butters no parsnips in the light of Cosmic Truth. Nor does it alter the fact that when, as, and if, he is ready for cultural accretions in his upward climb, he is mysteriously presented with them.

Economics is never the size of the figures involved, I say—coming back again to our bricklayer-stockbroker metaphor—in any man’s plane of living, but rather their application to the man or the group. When this mechanistic cycle is entirely closed—and I think the year 1950 will see the beginning of the end of it—economics on the basis I have sketched will once more swing back into a semblance of normality and we will still be confronted with our Eight-Eight-Eight Equation in some form or other as a premise for world welfare and individual spirit discipline. Let us see, therefore, what effect patriotism has on economics as we have interpreted it—patriotism, that is, in the sense of a peculiar sentimentality for the system of government, or the terrain, associated with one’s birth. . . .

For patriotism can be defined as nothing more nor less than that: Sentimentality run riot in inhibitive frights.

¶ It is the old, old animal instinct which makes a man or an ape associate the protection of his group or his tribe, or the familiar scenes and customs of infancy, with the mammalian protection that came from associating with progenitors who simply followed a law of nature in producing him in order to preserve the group. . .

THE TWENTIETH DISCUSSION

NATIONS - IN - LAW

THE TWENTIETH DISCUSSION





THE MORE one investigates, the more one finds the foregoing to be true. "Our country is the best on earth," says the American—absolutely illiterate in the study of government systems—because his father and mother taught him such sentiments and he imbibed them with his mother's milk. "Our homeland is the best on earth," says the Frenchman, the German, the Italian, the Englishman, even the Chinaman, because the individuals of all those races had the "protection" of their own particular culture in childhood, and that sense of infantile helplessness carries through into a thousand manifestations of maturity.

People fancy, therefore, that adhering to their culture brings them the same protection as adults, which they knew physically and economically while dependent children. This accounts for love of native land, no matter how steeped in prejudice and economic order that land may be. It is proven by the fact that natu-

ralized persons become equally patriotic for the country of their adoption when they begin to feel a sense of mass protection flung about them again.

I defy anyone to name a single instance in which a race has been able to cast off a psychological complex. If it could do so, we would have internationality overnight.



¶ Patriotism, as such, teaches that the enhancement of culture enhances individual security under that culture. That has been demonstrated time and again most flagrantly in Germany until the great war. Patriotism teaches that a man can gain most by enhancing the group amid which he came into physical life, which is another form of Mass Fright, or rather, mass trepidation at finding itself existent in a social world composed of other groups similarly thinking.

Now the world is made up of these groups for a purpose. That purpose is to bring out the best that is in each group!—derived from the peculiar living conditions of each terrain on which the specific group functions  

You cannot have a group functioning independently of terrain—at least not physically. Even spiritual groups are identified with certain spiritual locations. This is because groups are intended as derivers of benefits out of localities and geographical locations. No two of these are exactly alike over the whole earth's surface. Therefore each group, whether a village or a nation, learns something from reactions to its terrain, climatic conditions, food resources, or peculiar living habits, for

which the terrain is responsible, and not common to other groups in exactly the same manner.

When this principle is firmly established in the minds of sociologists they will set about declaiming patriotism for what it is: Mass fright of provincials at the peculiarities of other provincials!

Of course patriotism covers a multitude of sublimations of this definition. It makes the individual see his native land as something to be cherished and protected, for it is the law, as written, that each group shall go on contributing its peculiar quota of experience to world society  

This law works both ways.

It makes the individual preserve the group for perpetual contribution unto himself, and it makes the group reserve unto itself its own fecundities as factors in perpetuation of itself.

Patriotism also makes the individual think in terms of the group. It makes a man believe that the group is omnipotent, no matter how disseminated it may become by political or economic vicissitudes as they accrue. It leads him to believe as a member of the group that he too is invincible—ultimately—whereas alone he would be a stumbling-block in his own development, not being able to function without group consciousness.

Patriotism says to a man, "Your country, your tribe, your clan, your kin, have special errands to the rest of the race. Unite with these, work with them, function in an orderly manner within them, doing your part as a

unit, and the errand will be consummated." The individual concurs in this absolutely, because concurrence is one of his instincts toward self-preservation. He makes himself as popular as possible within the group, not because of the conscious acclaim resulting therefrom, but because it accelerates his own well-being, which in turn accelerates group efficiency, which in turn accelerates the group errand to the race.

But consider this: Men as groups fail to distinguish the relative importance of their racial errands in regard to the whole species, or rather, they misinterpret their service to humanity. They think that the contribution which their particular culture is called upon to make, from their terrain experience, is the culture permissible and requisite for all groups everywhere.

In other words, they take the fraction for the whole. They do not distinguish relatively. They evolve conceit of a nationalist order and want to cram all their culture, all their habits, all their peculiarities of social forms and religious beliefs, down the throats of the entire human race regardless of consequence. This makes men bigoted with the worst possible bigotry, since it seeks to accomplish by force of a sort what would be accomplished plausibly and normally by selection and merit—in other words, peaceable penetration with its attendant benefits and balances.

Men seek to benefit the species wholesale by retailing their own particular culture to the entire race, whether or not the race desires to acquire the particular brand

of goods which they have to dispense. Consider the trouble which the so-called Russians of communistic mien are piling up for themselves today because this truth is pertinent.

Races are customers of one another, or they should be, in cultural values as much as in commercial goods. No customer in any commodity cares to have goods forced upon him for which he has no use. This principle applies to nations and their cultures even more than to business transactions, since the dispensing of culture by force is usually met by force and resentment, and bloodshed results that is properly called "war." . . .

Customers are only good markets for any product when they are allowed freedom of selection in the commodities offered, since the collection of payment is both difficult and unpleasant. In fact it is a form of robbery, when a purchaser is forced into his purchase.

These fundamentals are known to every schoolboy in business. In the commercial world, enlightened businessmen go upon the principle that "the customer is always right" and that "a satisfied customer is a firm's best advertisement." To please the customer is the business man's shibboleth.

Think of the confusion and distress that would result if men did business on the premise that the customer did not know what it was that he wanted, and had to take whatever the merchant offered, so long as the merchant had the power to enforce the transaction. Yet that is precisely what happens when races try to inflict their

culture, or their political systems, on each other ~~to to~~
This world was never meant as a place of universality of culture! Mankind would get no benefit from his incursions into it. The planet as a geographical entity would have to be universal as to climate, resources, fauna, and water distribution, if this were to be the ultimate accomplishment. Peoples will be peoples until the end of time, because the differences in peoples, based on their differences of home terrain, have been decreed by laws of Nature. And whoever flouts a natural law invites calamity.

Cultures will be cultures until the end of time, because out of each culture grows a peculiar Tree of Knowledge having the balsam of an intellectual contribution within its trunk, to say nothing of different manifestations of esthetics in its branches.

Until peoples realize this, we shall have a sorry time of starting and stopping wars, and trying to explain ourselves internationally.

But to go back to the economics of patriotism, or economics under patriotisms . . .



HE MAN in the street is conscious that his group has some sort of earthly mission to the species, whether or not he aggravates this into the interpretation that his people are the "chosen" people whom all others should copy or remain uncultured. He knows that his particular tribe or nation must contribute something. Economics enters right there—economics as we have expounded it—and becomes a factor in his efficiency both as a unit and as a group.

Economics demands that the man in the street preserve the orderly balance between work and recuperation, or he devitalizes the potency of his peculiar group to contribute its quota of culture to the whole human family. But turning the whole matter around, and studying the problem from the angle of internationality as affecting the economic status of the individual, what do we find? ¶ First, we must lay down as a fundamental that internationality—as such—is not the smashing or mutilating of any group for the universality of culture. To the end of time, I say, and so long as natural laws persist and govern the physical world, the racial groups and racial cultures must maintain their individualities; else the purpose of creation is defeated.

The proposal of true internationality is a bid for the accurate understanding of the functioning of each group, nation, or race, in the whole world family. It offers each its representation, therefore it seeks to conserve groups as groups, not to annihilate or even to assimilate.

It should seek to strengthen each group as a group, or each nation as a nation, or each race as a race, that each may fulfill its offices to the other.

Take any given group and say to it, "Thus far and no farther, or submerge your individuality in universality," and you create a condition that flouts a natural law—as I have said before. But say to each race, "Go as far as you can in selling the human race what you have to offer it, preserving as a merchant all the individuality which you possess, but abide by certain recognized laws of trade—the chief one of which is to Let the Customer Choose—and you create a condition where all races become brothers, spiritually, which is the height of constructive interpretation of Worldly Residence that will withstand every assault of intellectual bigotry."

This clarification and emphasis of a great truth, therefore, precludes any argument from that particular school of economists which lays down as a premise for internationalism a universal living standard.

We of America do not want orientals within our borders for economic reasons, we say. What do we mean but that the oriental upsets the Eight-Eight-Eight Equation of equal parts of work, play, sleep, whereas we would establish the economic order on some reasonable semblance of the ratio. The oriental would construct the equation: Twenty hours for work, no time for play, and as little sleep as he can get, with competitive economic benefits. Witness the spectacle of John Chinaman pounding his flatiron on your shirts far into the

night, while the laundry run by your white Rotarian flounders in the mazes of an NRA code.

But this school misinterprets the economics of true patriotism, if I may use the phrase, in that it presupposes that an offering of whatever is best in each culture to the race as a whole, does not mean an intermingling of cultures on the universality scheme any more than at present. Indeed, it means the antithesis of such intermingling. It means a sharper demarkation of racial cultures and peculiarities than ever before; but a free, frank, and equitable recognition of such demarkation. Thus in time, if the Aryan's contribution to universal civilization is the Eight-Eight-Eight Equation, it will of itself permeate oriental culture, in return for something which the oriental has to contribute.

By no manner of means are we to conclude that the whole world is to become a general mixing-pot for all cultures, out of which boil we hook what we desire. The nations of the earth, the races of this world, must work out their characteristic destinies, not by wars, but by vigorous recognitions that each has something to contribute to the other, that each race is the product of the terrain to which it is indigenous, and that "peaceful penetrations" must come about—if at all—by the offering of such cultural values as accrue from such association, not by forcings of cultural idiosyncrasies on others whether wanted or not.

Of course we have a long, long way to travel before this is generally understood by more backward and infantile peoples, much less put into practice. No matter. We shall have made a tremendous stride forward when the Aryan and Latin peoples, precursors of civilization as we accept it at present, lay it down as a premise for an international psychology.

Internationality does not assail patriotism; it becomes its buttress.

Internationality does not obliterate races; it strengthens them—or it should strengthen them so that they can make their contribution to the human family with maximum efficiency and effect.



INTERPRETING this in terms of economics in the individual life, we find that in conserving and strengthening the group and removing the bugbear of possible Universality, we give each group the opportunity to function centripetally instead of centrifugally. In other words, by eliminating the fear of absorption in a super-race, we give the individual the rein to become more of an individual in the exact ratio that his group becomes thereby more individualistic.

Given a freedom from international panic—in the sense of fear of absorption internationally—the individual has the license and opportunity to live his life in esoteric balance: Eight hours of work, eight hours of play, eight hours of sleep.

It matters not what his work is, so long as he applies himself to it constructively the calendar around, undisturbed by the intrusions of militarisms, diplomatic bungle, and the disruption of economic and commercial life attendant on both. By creating an atmosphere of international good-will you are buttressing and benefiting the true order of economics in the life of the man in the street. This is simple reasoning. Yet there is a deeper significance to it all, which we should by no means overlook ✱ ✱

When humankind, either literate or illiterate, gets the idea firmly fixed in its head that loss of group prestige cannot be threatened by international cooperation, we will have a situation where accomplishment is possible in unification of society politically.

Take notice, however, that political unification of society, never means social unification, or religious unification, or blood unification.

Political government can be exercised abstractly, and is so exercised in a thousand instances, without destroying racial or group integrity.


The United States herself is a glittering example of the correctness of this assertion. Understand me, I do not mean that groups or races being helped to self-improvement economically according to the creeds of recognized civilization, as in India, are being properly summoned to political unification with those now helping them. If a man purposely lives in dirt and squalor, and his political mentor or sponsor would aid him in getting out

of his filth and ignorance, that is no license for the helped one to argue that he is being assailed racially. We have the true assailment racially, and the true unification as such, not in present-day America or India, but in certain aspects of Chinese history where the Manchus and Mongols descended on hapless peoples and made them into other peoples at the point of the sword ❀ ❀

The difference between social improvement in living conditions, or educational methods, and enforced acquiescence to another's culture in all its aspects, is vast. What I am trying to register is the thought that mankind is properly antagonistic to the other fellow's culture because he thinks it will supersede his own; whereas no culture, no matter of what sort, ever was successful in being politically administered.

Politics and culture are as far apart as the poles, made up of different essences, functioning in different spheres. ¶ Politics is the science of interpreting practically the greatest good for the greatest number under a given set of living conditions, and administering elementary laws to that end. Culture is the science of a people's interpretation of the universe, based on their reactions to it, or rather, their instructions received from their peculiar corner of it. And right here another important qualification should be made.

Politics is not to be confused with Culture, I say. By the same token, Culture is not to be confused with Ethics! ❀ ❀

A cultured people may be entirely without ethics, and an ethical people may be entirely without culture 

¶ Culture says to a man, "Do this because it enhances your own prestige in the social eye and gains you facility in dealing with your brother."

Ethics says, "Certain things must be done for the good of all men everywhere, and until they are recognized—to say nothing of realized—there can be no lasting social peace."

Now then, given a group intensely jealous of their culture but not at all ethical, and you have a travesty. You have a set of individuals saying to the rest of the universe, "These things you must do to have us like you and accept you, mainly because they are likable and acceptable among ourselves." When a group says, "Do these things because we have found pleasure and profit in doing them ourselves," it ceases to be cultural and becomes ethical in the highest sense.

Life wherever encountered is a process of Give and Take, giving values and receiving values, making one group rich at the expense of another, that both may learn similarity of conquest over the forces arrayed against them as men.

Given a group that has no culture, but a great ethical sense, and you find a group that has arrayed itself against all forms of tyranny, repression, and ignorance—a group that is exogenous, a purveyor to the race of all that is best in nature and art without being offensive in the slightest.

It is sometimes hard to distinguish between Culture and Ethics, but this becomes true if pondered: Culture says to the race, "We are better than our brethren," while Ethics says to the race, "Let us find out which amongst us is best equipped, and most solidified in structure for cosmic interpretation."



OW then, coming back to our discourse on Economics under Internationality, we must treat with the factors of Culture and Ethics in no mean manner. When we say that a nation has no home, what do we imply? All men have homes, for all men were born somewhere and most of them have places to go at night for sleeping or for shelter. "Home," however, has a deeper significance than place of birth, intimate association with childhood, or comfort of the physical self in maturity *✿ ✿*

Home truly is that location where the individual enjoys the culture to which he was most accustomed during the formative years of his character, making him the particular individuality that maturity finds him!

Men have houses but no homes. Other men have homes but have no houses. Men have birthplaces but possess no Culture. Men have had culture without knowing their birthplaces. It is not a question of terms wholly but a question of idealty of concept.

Given twenty different men, born in twenty different places, under twenty different standards of culture, and

you have twenty men who are breeding places for deviltries when cast together. Why? Because they are twenty men without accomplices to aid in representing their home standards to the others. They must do it alone, each of them, fearfully wondering as to whether or not they are doing it effectively. They instinctively seek to do it by force, not of argument but of arm.

Put an Englishman, an Irishman, a Frenchman, a German, and an Italian on a barren rock and you will promptly have five fights within as many minutes. They are five men lacking homes. They are therefore distraught and intolerant one toward the other. One wants to kill the other for eating garlic or sauer-kraut, or persisting in a characteristic racial gesture, while at the same time appearing as odious to the others for his own characteristics as the others are to him.

Translated into terms of Economics then, home is a place where people think, act, and function to a certain standard, and all being satisfied with that standard they accept that all men everywhere must embrace it, whereas other men in distant parts of the earth feel the same way themselves and resent intrusions upon their own standards. This standard being the Eight-Eight-Eight Equation, or the correlation of the Work-Play-Sleep ratio, we have the impression created and projected that if it is not possible for all men to accept the one standard for a great many generations as yet, it is emphatically possible to have cohesion between the groups politically ❖ ❖

Who shall say that this is nonsense? Who shall say that this political cohesion is not the only practical standard under which the groups and races can approach or endure a common contact point without jeopardizing individuality or cosmic destiny?

China was a land that went on for centuries egocentrically making its culture the shibboleth of a hemisphere. When Marco Polo went back to his prince, he carried stories of a people so cultured, if not entirely ethical, that he was cast in jail as a common liar. China however had no license thereby to go rampaging around the globe making all other races Chinese. Yet every nation on the globe at that particular period of history would have been better off both socially and economically had it submitted to China's beliefs and practices in her relations with other peoples.

You cannot have a people given over to conquest who are essentially economic in their structure. You cannot have a people given over to Ethics who are anything else than economic giants.

Take the United States for instance. She speaks truthfully when she says that she has no designs on other peoples—unless it be the Jews who have insolently come in of late and declared they will be Messiahs to the Americans whether the Americans want them so or not. But the United States speaks truthfully when she says that she has no designs on races abroad because she is essentially economic in her structure or organism. Designs on other peoples would tend to make her loosen

her economic bonds, weaken her powers of concentration, dissipate her faculties of application to business, and scatter her units making for accumulation and concentration of activity.

America has the gift of minding her own business, and while she may be generally hated for that trait among peoples otherwise inclined, and while this minding her own business may largely be the result of an adolescent provincialism, she grew stronger and stronger in her economic structure, and assured the Work-Play-Sleep ratio with increasing certainty to the individual, until she let the Jewish interests behind the scenes at Washington and elsewhere put the skids beneath her and push her into the European world-war morass.

It cost her 40 billions of dollars and an influx of more Jews to "fix" things, and things are still in process of being "fixed"—to the tune of five billions more per year. Industry is paralyzed. The Work-Play-Sleep ratio has long since gone where the woodbine eternal twineth. People do not sleep any more; they lie on a bed in the dark and worry. America up to the time of the Great Kosher Enticement of 1917 was egocentric to ideality and had been the peculiar illustration of a nation that is ethical but not cultural.

Now while I concede that America's gift for minding her own business has its roots in the timidities of isolation, and while many of the nations disdaining her therefor are motivated by natural causes not always within her control, I dare to contend that America has a mis-

sion in this regard which other peoples of earth have not as yet interpreted aright.

I dare to contend that America's isolation, with its attendant ethical development, is a stipulation of divine Providence for projecting a standard of possible and plausible international behavior under which all earth's peoples may profit as they perceive its economic and spiritual advantages!

Most of the other nations, with the possible exception of Great Britain, are cultural without being ethical. They are built up on pragmatisms which they erroneously term Politics. They are constantly in turmoil, economically and socially, because they refuse to concede that there is any vital association between the rights of the individual and the rights of the group. That is to say, they dissipate themselves economically by constantly striving to impress on other groups that their group is paramount in culture while the man in the street is merely something that makes the group possible as an effective political unit.

This is not saying that all nations excepting the United States take no account of the man in the street. Many nations take more account of him, or rather better account, than does America or England. But it does mean that America has restrictive altruism—in terms of group policy and world alliance—down to a science, so to speak, without meaning to do so.

America, and in a measure Britain, know that groups as groups must always exist and be tolerated—not only

tolerated but accepted as such. So she permits her Jews in New York, her Irish in Boston, her Germans in Milwaukee, her French in New Orleans. She knows that these races all have virilities and social values to contribute to group welfare, that friction sometimes results between them but that it need not be permanent when it is understood that groups or races have the right to so express themselves as their instincts may dictate

¶ America is an epitome of what the whole earth might easily become if all races would only show themselves less cultured and more ethical, under the definitions I have submitted.

America points the way to a world solution of racial animosities—after the Silvershirts have corraled and emasculated the megalomaniacal Jew—that breed every sort of bloody antagonism from a riot in Spain to a Chinese revolution. She is sound economically despite the ghastly drain on her resources by the 1936 Roosevelt-Baruch-Frankfurter bureaucracy. She is strong politically, but more diverse in her human elements than any other country on the face of the globe.

I submit that American history is a forecast and prototype of universal world history in the thousand brilliant years immediately ahead! That, however, is outside the arena of our present discussion.

American history to date is a travesty on good government and yet a bright and shining light and example of what all races can do politically without losing their cultural identities. . . .

We have then, states in world society in which races set up or make for themselves idols of bugaboos based on wrong application, or at least interpretations, of the belief that any social group cannot relinquish political control of itself or interests without jeopardizing its cultural standards. These in turn affect, according to erroneous conception, its economic welfare or the particular Work-Play-Sleep ratio that it embraces.

When men reach a point where they are willing to concede that Economics, Politics, Culture, and Ethics are four separate and distinct factors in—or phases of—worldly residence or cosmic experience, we shall have an end to superficial nationalism with its attendant and periodic social cataclysms known as war or revolutions.

¶ Internationalism today is in bad repute, just as the term Politics is in bad repute, not only because it is the fetish of Judah with cunning ends to serve, but because it does not express accurately the true essence of what it should represent to the world at large.

Internationality, I repeat, is quite something else.

It is not the destruction of cultures but the augmentation of ethics. It is not the absorption of fanatical States attempting to make of themselves super-principalities and rule all others, but an extension of ethics governmentally to the end and aim that all peoples may enjoy protection from depredations of those seeking to enforce their culture whether or not it be wanted or tolerated.

It is, or it should be, a mass movement merely to set up

a political structure which permits all nations and groups to function as they will, and contribute what they will, to earthly welfare peaceably and naturally ✚
¶ Internationality seeks to conserve the very thing that now is looked upon as being its greatest danger: national or racial solidarity. The true bridging of the nations will come when universal mankind accepts the principle just uttered as humanity accepts it in the United States, or as it is being vaguely realized by the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Nowhere in America is there any attempt to make Russians of Irishmen or Frenchmen of Italians. Rather the various nationalities become more pronounced than ever. But in the exact ratio that it is pronounced, is it accepted as an asset in the body politic instead of an imponderable liability.

Given a dozen races in America, one will furnish political leadership, one will supply the greatest number of capable financiers, one will contribute to invention and scholasticism, while yet another will furnish inspired musicians or capable fruit merchants. The Mexican in Arizona does not squabble and start a war because the Greeks in New York dominate the restaurant business. The German in Hoboken does not start a riot because the Swedes in Minnesota are predominantly farmers. The native-born Vermonter does not risk jail merely because the traffic officer who hands him a ticket for parking in front of a hydrant was a native of County Cork ✚ ✚

The only quarrel that all these races have with any other besides their own, is with the Jew, because he is assuming a role in politics and economics all out of proportion to his quota in the population, and is not smart enough to keep his mouth shut about it and stop his vulgar bulldozing.

All these nationalities under normal conditions contribute their instinctive qualifications to the general welfare and the political organism which is over them. Making such contribution possible and permanent has no more to do with the dozen cultures which these races represent than flies have to do with manufacturing the molasses ball on which they alight. All races bring from different terrains and climates, different attributes, inclinations, and psychologies. We profit from the German's thrift, the Frenchman's cooking, the Englishman's humor, and the Italian's music. America merely gives these races a type of government that assures them freedom of expression for their attributes, inclinations, and psychologies. It contracts to furnish security to their persons and properties, in return for which they pay the cost thereof in taxes without once stopping to inquire into the absurdity of the federal, state, or municipal government's becoming preponderant with any one nationality to the jeopardy of the individualities of the others.


It is my expectation that I shall have much to do with giving my country a permanent foreign policy that is a foreign policy. It shall be a strong advocacy of adult

internationality on the lines laid down above—or hereinafter to be depicted—but never a commitment to Communistic Internationalism, or a kosher manipulated World Court or League of Nations.

The mischief of conniving Jewry must first be forever laid, and I believe that the American Silver-shirts will ultimately succeed in doing it in the United States as the Brown Shirts have done it in Germany. Englishmen must likewise purge their culture of the parasitical Jew, who fancies in his megalomania that he is the earth's aristocrat. Then these three great Aryan nations should lead the way, as an associated triumvirate, toward an Aryan-sponsored Parliament of Man. They are strong enough to do this in political coalition and give it an integrity that is founded on the principle of Live and Let Live for all races provided they subscribe to international law as hereinafter expounded.

To say that Great Britain could attempt to make Turks out of Chinamen, or cast a vote to make the western coast of America oriental, simply because she might furnish a preponderant number of delegates to a world political structure, is as absurd as to say that a preponderance of Irish on the police force of one of our cities means a clubbing of all citizens until they become Celts ❀ ❀

To say that America would lose her freedom of action, of individualism of deportment and ideality as a land of constitutional rights and economic opportunity in the eyes of world society, by paying her share of the

taxes that maintain a world police force, is as infantile of concept as to say that the Chicagoan loses his Americanism by paying taxes toward a police force that tries to halt a city's crime wave. On the whole he enhances it, for is he not less an American, and less liable to exist as anything at all, when gangs of foreign-born hoodlums are tearing through the public streets spraying the sidewalks with slugs from machine-guns? 



¶ Those who argue that history shows that wherever one race has become politically preponderant it has attempted to cram its culture down the throats of other races under it, are superficial in their erudition, analysis, and logic. This political preponderance has only been the instrumentality, not the cause, of such a gesture. Always there have been determining factors deeper than the political domination which have motivated those acts of lawless discrimination, precisely as in the case of the Jew of today. Religion has perhaps been the greatest. A different economic standard has been another. Ritualistic social performance has been a third. But such enforced cramming has been an attempt of ignorant peoples, usually intermingling on one terrain where one of them has no ethnological right, to assimilate the other unnaturally.

The moment that an enlightened people, however preponderant, recognizes that instinctive expression of racial attributes is a providential decree for the ultimate good of the body politic, the oppression halts and social profit commences automatically.

Another point that must not be overlooked in considering the analogy of an international police force as an arm of the international political structure, is that the very composition of the international political structure should give an universality of race to the arm and organism behind it.

Further, before the fearsome "police force" comes into being, there must be a predetermined, coded, and subscribed-to agreement as to the functions, powers, and spheres of action by which it shall operate.

People in general today, protesting against the bugbear of internationality, consider the international police force as a sort of Gargantuan sentryman, reeling through the streets of the world, controlled by no power but his own caprice, and discharging his musket as he has the whim.

The world today bears the perfect analogy to the western mining camp of a generation ago, rebellious and turbulent, each man knowing his person and property are menaced, each wearing his own weapons for individual protection and not getting it, yet all equally fearsome and resentful at the coming of Law and Order. Western history discloses, on the other hand, that the coming of Law and Order sent the bad-man scuttling off the roost, and no real peace and security maintained until all men had thrown their side-arms in a pile and surrendered their anarchistic prerogatives to the sheriff's authority  

Where in the history of all the earth have two or more

nations pooled their interests for constructive, altruistic, or economic betterment, that either of them has suffered forcibly from the alignment, insofar as the other has been concerned? Is it not true that wherever people associate themselves together amicably and constructively to promote the general welfare, that both of them have benefited to a greater ratio than they have lost in prestige by such independence?

Consider a Confederation for keeping the peace of the world composed of America, Great Britain, and Germany, all blood cousins by consanguinity and with well-nigh identical cultures and ethics. All the remaining nations of the world combined together could not prevail against it.

Understand me, I do not refer here to leagues of petty kings and States put together to accomplish selfish strategies or implicate each other in personal quarrels. I said "associations of peoples entered into to promote the general welfare.

Get rid of the parasitical and conniving Jew and it can be accomplished in reasonable integrity.

The time is fast approaching when "balances of power" to meet purely military and strategic coalitions must give way to alignments of similar cultures politically, in order to minimize friction within great reserves of racial strength. When these great reserves of racial strength are aligned upon a basis of similar or allied cultures and consanguinity, there is a force generated that is practically impregnable.

Too long we have put alliances of States together on a rule of thumb basis, or according to the whims or strategies of potentates. Is it any wonder that perpetual disruption has been the history of these unions? Their very divergencies of culture contain the seeds of ultimate disintegrations. But when States of similar cultures, and perhaps ethics, are brought into coalition, there is a naturalness in their association that postulates longevity and wedded tranquility.

The United States of America is an anomaly at present. We are a youthful nation suffering from growing pains, devoid of culture but rampant in ethics. On the other hand, we are an epitome of all the cultures existent in the world at present, brought together and functioning in groups under one political structure. We are egocentric in our foreign policy; we are exogenic in our domestic policy. We have opportunity to lead the nations of the world into our own political structure, permanently benefiting them and ourselves even as the thirteen original colonies are shown to have benefited by federalization. On the other hand, we play the role of the panic-stricken child, selfish, petulant, and on occasion ill behaved, daring not to venture out into the highroad excepting as an adventure, unless the child across the way heaves stones, bashes our nose, or breaks the windows of the house in which we live . . .

I have tried to show, up to this point, that an individual's economic status is determined by his own physical well-being more than by the amount of money he may hap-

pen to have at any given moment in a savings bank, that such economic status rightly rests on the Work-Play-Sleep ratio which preserves the individual as a useful citizen enjoying the maximum efficiency of his physical and spiritual faculties.

I have tried to show that this economic status so propounded, is effected, influenced and determined, by a minimum of disturbances due to international relationships, that those international relationships—to be of permanent tranquility and constructive benefit—must be premised on the realization that international government is an ethical structure, in and under which his racial culture shall come to highest flower.

Now in our next chapter let us start to determine some of the factors that are essential to the concrete founding or rearing of such a structure, and what the true infamies, liabilities, and contingencies may be on each component contributor, in the event that it is put into effective operation.

For make no mistake, America is coming out of these doldrums with a maturity in her internationality that approximates the attaining to her legal majority within the lives of great world States.

She must be captained by a host of Aryan freemen, knowing perfectly what her place in the family of nations ought to be, and seeing to it that she assumes it.

THE TWENTY-FIRST DISCUSSION

NATIONS - IN - LAW

THE TWENTY-FIRST DISCUSSION



SUPPOSE first that we take a look at the much-mooted thing termed International Law. . . .

¶ International Law is a shibboleth for many persons who believe that all law is the result of human caprice. That is to say, they think that human-kind, desiring to force its dic-

tates on its neighbors but lacking the power, can accomplish the same results by a sort of super-legislation that shall have as its support the potency of gunboats. These people are but dangerous impressionists in their understanding of all law and its application to human conduct.

¶ There is as much difference between statutes, and general public assent to any given statute, as there is between a piece of paper and the words written on that paper. Law is law only insofar as it transcribes a general ethical understanding or limitation based on cause and effect. Everything else partaking of the term is merely a public prescription for general conduct.

You cannot have law without public assent declaring its

recognition of the greatest good for the greatest number. Anything else is baleful in its ultimate effects, for it prostitutes the spirit of law and makes a farce of compensation as a principle.

When you get a law that says, "Thus far and no farther," backed up by the will of the majority, there is never any doubt that it is a law and will elicit obedience without any necessity for cossacks to enforce it. When, however, you get a law that is a mere prescription for right doing, suggested by a minority, not matter how altruistic in motive or purpose, you get a hodge-podge of emotional reaction that means defeat to the project which the statute represented.

Law is law because it is the will of the majority, whether written or unwritten, coded or uncoded! How many laws are judged on this principle?

Understand me, the "will of the majority" is not necessarily what the majority thinks, or says, or does—under the stimuli of passion, excitement, or tumult led by demagoguery—as so many federalists have erroneously maintained. It is rather a quiet cognition in every man's heart of what he wishes done for his permanent welfare.

¶ True, he may interpret that welfare wrongly, but he will never interpret wrongly the urge which makes him decree for that welfare.

And in that urge is the law and the prophets.

This may be going far from logic in practice, but if humanity would take a closer note of its basic urges, paying less attention to surface passions and desires of

the moment—usually vitalized by empty sensationalism—it would have a cleaner bill of governmental health.

¶ So then, let us take international government in terms of international law—which in turn is law by the World Majority—and see if it is workable under any of the principles laid down as blanket law for groups.

Just what is international government, and can it operate practically?

Are its purposes worthy?

Does it coincide with fundamental tenets of human nature, and what can it accomplish that cannot be accomplished by all governments as units?

Understand, this is not a plea for super-government but a dissertation on its possibilities as a practical project. I have no desire, now or at any future time, to augment the world's troubles by helping to set up any super-state that shall add to those troubles. But the time is increasingly ripe for a consideration of some sort of international controlling force that shall act on world states much as the Supreme Court under Marshall acted on the thirteen original colonies until it welded them into a strong, self-confident nation.

The American Supreme Court did this without arms to effect its decrees. It accomplished its purpose by a sort of super-intellect reposing in Marshall and exercised by him through his office and associates. John Marshall was the American Constitution in action, as the histories of every country agree. That he happened to be a jurist was only incidental. The fact remained that he

was a great intellect, purposely occupying a strategic position of permanence in office where he could counsel the American people to know their own hearts when their inclinations were to give vent to surface passions.

¶ John Marshall was not a jurist but an influence. His desire to weld the States into a nation was in advance of his time, considered from the angle of the average American psychology of the period. He worked with a sagacity that was unerringly correct. The world-scene is yet awaiting its John Marshall, and when he appears we shall be cagey about endorsing and entering. Marshall correlated the influences abroad in the federal colonies and out of them brought the Master Influence of the national government.

Now this national government did not abolish State courts, State individuality, state interests, state financial systems, or state police protection. What it did do, out of the welter of the passions, animosities, and complex proclivities of the times, was to set up a pool of common interests in the form of a centralized officialdom which should consider and attempt to solve problems and dilemmas which no State could solve independently with permanence.

Marshall made the States realize that they were omnipotent only insofar as their sectional interests did not clash with the interests of the continental people as a whole. The moment they did that, it was selfishly profitable for them to forego those interests and accept the judgment of the Supreme Court—and Marshall in

particular—as to what was best for the body politic ~~to~~
¶ Some of course might call this a super-State, and indeed in time it did become such. But has humanity in this western hemisphere lost or gained by the realization of this super-officialdom?

It is difficult for the present-day American to accept that a period once existed in this country when Virginia looked with quite as much distrust on Massachusetts as France today looks on Germany. In those times, those commonwealths were sovereign States in the fullest sense and meaning of the term. We colloquially call them States, or commonwealths. It would convey a better picture to our minds to call them nations. The nations of New York and Connecticut hated the nations of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and all combined to hate Maryland. The culture of none of these was alike. Their modes of worship were not alike. Their outlook on political life was similar in principle but antagonistic in possibilities for development along similar lines.

In the case of Virginia and Massachusetts we had two nations, six to eight hundred miles apart, whose very climates were different, whose two orthodoxies were diametrically opposed. Each was successful in its pursuits as a commonwealth, and any coalition was as unthinkable as a coalition between the United States, Great Britain and Germany, is unthinkable to the average man at this moment. Moreover, a wilderness far more precarious and impenetrable than the oceanic highways

that now divide America from the other continents, intervened between the two. But what happened? Under the stress of a common danger they joined interests—clumsily—grudgingly—and suspicious of one another at first. But such cohesion was not so easy to sunder after being once formed, for it did at least hold military advantages against common enemies.

When you have a State that must naturally seek aid from its neighbors in order to exist, you have a potential force toward a super-State. That is a law of nations to which all history will attest.

Now then, instead of Massachusetts and Virginia alone, there were eleven other such little nations, all linked together by language, terrain, and hemispherical interests. The amazing thing was not that they came together in the federation which became the mighty United States, but that ultimate coalition took sixty to eighty years to effect and cost a fratricidal, internecine war.

¶ States are groups of people with some sectional interest that is largely determined by climate and terrain. They are political in essence only insofar as governmental methods are applicable. To their export of ideas are often added such traits as blood peculiarities, certain physical endowments, and lastly—but not necessarily—a peculiar language or dialect. States, however, are coagulations of abstract ideas, since history has proven that all of the aforementioned assets may not save them from completely losing their identities in a federation or empire.

This happened in the cases of Massachusetts and Virginia until the schoolboy of today recognizes them only as federal districts for facility in national government by a Congress in Washington. Can the people of these States, however, honestly claim that they have lost their group individualities, their properties, or their patriotism, by joining with one another in support of the federal government and sinking their sectional caprices in the more powerful and respect-compelling federal officialdom? Have they not rather gained to the point where State Rights are a dead letter—so dead that we now lament every last drop of blood that was shed in the Civil War? Sectional hatreds may persist in the South, and doubtless do persist, but not because of the federation's success with a super-government. Rather because of an abiding animus at wrongs committed against southern properties and manners by northern troops and politicians.

True, a hypothetical break-down into smaller State governments is necessary, to get the sectional business transacted that cannot, and should not, encumber the federal enterprise as such. Sectional interests and prides are likewise the better fostered in order to give character to the whole, than as if these hypothetical boundaries and bureaucracies did not exist. People can think in terms of a State and its limitations, where they would be all at sea striving to judge the behavior of the nation as a whole. But the nation as a nation is secure, regardless of the harpings of demagogues to the contrary. What

is needed now seems to be the recognition that the time is ripe for history to repeat itself and to duplicate the American Constitutional period in terms of world politics. Again I say, however, it must be sounded off on a premise of the consanguinity of peoples, not on economic or military strategies.

This, of course, is hard for the practical politician, the sectional enthusiast, and the individual theorist, to accept as yet. The average American, or Englishman, or German, is in much the same psychological status as the resident of Massachusetts or Virginia between the years 1775 and 1825. He shrieks, "What! . . . take our patriotism, our self-government, our racial heritage, our splendid isolation, our exemption from Europe's hatreds and entanglements, away from us?"—exactly as the patriot of 1775 was ready to hang or imprison the traitor who proclaimed federalization in New England or the South. But acceptance must come ultimately, for that is the trend of society today and no one man, no one State, no one nation, can possibly deter it.

Eliminate the conniving communistic Jew with his international strategies, and exhibit to consanguinous peoples a manner of federalization whereby no one nation among them can boss the show, or infringe on national sovereignties, and internationality will follow in a handful of years.

The trend of humanity is toward universal federalization, I say. We have attained to it in the United States. It is growing into tangible form in the British Common-

wealth of Nations. I believe it will soon become potent in a United States of Europe—Aryan led and Nazis tintured. Germany has already taken the first requisite step in her curtailment of the prostituting power of the Jew. Riots, assassinations, and common murders have lately been the order in Poland, Rumania, and the Balkans generally—all from anti-Semitic motives. Colloquially speaking, the Jew is on the hot spot in Spain, in Mexico, in Canada, in England, and to a degree in Jewish-Bolshevik Russia. Today as I write these lines, mobs are reported to be moving through the capital city of France shouting "France for the French!" although the gagged and censored news agencies do not allow the news to come across the water that their whole cry is, "France for the French and not for the Jews!" This morning's mail has even brought me a sheaf of newspapers reporting violent anti-Jewish outbreaks down in South Africa. Where next? Break the financial super-government of the predatory world-Jew and peoples can then "be themselves," giving expression to their inherent integrity and character, one towards the other. But the cleaning out of the Jew must first occur in Europe, probably led all the way to the end by the anti-Jewish elements under Hitler, or at least brought to expression by Hitler. It is only a question of time when the Jewish State imposed on the Russians will collapse under the weight of its own crime and infamy. One of the greatest Jewish pogroms of the world has yet to occur in Russia.

After these, what? Is the trend then to halt? ✿ ✿
We may give this vague mass movement toward consanguinous federation, names less odious than Super-State, League of Nations, World Parliament or Council of Nationals. None the less, the movement is with us and has been proceeding at a terrific rate, faster indeed than the man in the street has any conception of. And these Movements are never static. They may move in cycles but they always move. The League of Nations, the Parliament of Man, is nearer than men think, for they do not see what is going on in the world, they only get reports. At the present moment those reports are Jewish reports, containing only what the Jews in high places want the non-Jewish peoples to know, thinking thereby that they can avoid the evil day when they shall be called to an accounting.

The time will come, and shortly, when Nationalism as pure provincialism and adolescent isolation, will be as archaic as States Rights under the old Constitutional agitation was likewise a gone metaphor the moment the federal government set up its housekeeping. Make no mistake here. The handwriting is on the wall.

This movement is being mainly accelerated and enhanced by modern transportation and international communication. The thing that kept Massachusetts and Virginia at variance with one another over so long a period was not blood-animosity, for Massachusetts people could go to Virginia without molestation, and Virginians did business in Massachusetts without meeting

with mishaps, physical or financial. The real issue between these States was geographical. They could not communicate with each other with facility. They could not intertrade dexterously. They could not accept each other's viewpoints because each was provincial in its general intelligence towards the other.

We know from history that the first great expedient tending to bring the two sovereignties together was not Revolutionary problems, or even John Marshall's growing influence as counselor, helping them out of distressing legal plights with one another. It was the invention of the steamboat, and it did not come, and its confederating influence did not make itself felt in earnest until well after the turn of the Nineteenth Century. John Livingstone and Robert Fulton laid America wide open with trade routes when they hitched a crude steam-engine to a cruder propellor, and the same motive power was subsequently applied to a stage-coach on rails. The telegraph followed fast, and the thirteen American nations began quickly to recognize that State boundaries were purely hypothetical, that State tariffs, in the form of sectional animosities, were the silliest lack of logic.

The States reacted to these inventions and improvements with alacrity, and their increasing economic interdependence forced the general government to take on new powers, extend the old, and exert new functions. The growth of the federated American commonwealth was automatic. It came into being under military

necessity. It increased in stature under economic fiat. Today there are no "States" in the catholic meaning of the word. Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia are mere husks of States, or rather, legislative districts for facility in district government. That the people have profited is an inane suggestion. Any schoolboy can describe the benefits. Yet within the memory of this passing generation there were whole sections which interpreted patriotism as living and dying for dear old Massachusetts, Virginia, Missouri, or Kansas. "Grand Old States" were the allusions of pulpit orators. "Grand Old Ideas," or "Grand Old Myths," would answer as well for those vapid orations that once thrilled the multitude in pitiful provincialism.

The acme of "patriotism" before and during the Civil War was to uphold the traditions and manners of a section. And that is exactly what the American people are doing today in setting themselves apart from the rest of humanity.

It is a strong statement to say that America is a myth or merely an idea. And yet it holds possibilities in logic as irrefutable and undecipherable as the analogies we have made between Massachusetts and Virginia. America as a country has no dividing lines of terrain or blood between it and the races which have contributed their peoples to compose it. True, the oceans give it an island aspect east and west, but America as America is naught but the consensus of a political ideal. We speak the English language in the main, but combine all the

other languages spoken within our borders and call them a group tongue and English is not spoken in America! ¶ We are the descendants of foreigners in the most prolific sense. We ape the manners of a dozen nationalities and then have the temerity to hate the nationals whom we ape, saying that they are different from ourselves. What a laughing-stock we make of ourselves in the face of unbiased logic!

We say that America is conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Neither is true—or rather they are myths, political idealisms ✻ ✻


We say that persons born in America have endowments not enjoyed by other nationals, all of which is nonsense. Many other nationals are born with rights and liberties prohibited so strenuously in America that even the prohibition itself is ludicrous.

We say that in America every man has his chance, whereas he does not begin to have the chance for self-government or self-expression enjoyed by the national in England or Germany, speaking culturally.

The worst crime that an American can commit is to attempt to stand out and be individualistic—above the crowd—above the universal mediocrity. Americans even go so far as to prescribe a date when straw hats may no longer be worn in the autumn, and to flout the prescription is to court a bashed head. The popular term for the individualistic person is “crank,” “nut,” or “freak” ✻ ✻

We say that America is the Land of Opportunity, as though other lands were not, as though ten million Americans, mostly Gentiles, were not walking the streets at this moment looking for work to supply them with the bread of life.

We prate of the protection offered by our flag, but anyone born under the British Flag has the whole world for his journeying-place, not three thousand miles of country jammed between two oceans. No one trifles with a British citizen sojourning abroad—Britain sees to that. Does the American abroad travel under any such prestige? Go abroad and learn.

Do you think me unpatriotic? Well, what is patriotism? Is it provincialism? That seems to be the popular interpretation in the light of a studious examination of history. Is it closing one's eyes to the defects of one's country? That seems to be the popular acceptance quickly discovered by one who would speak truth 

¶ I am patriotic because my fathers were buried in this soil. I am patriotic because I have made certain laws which I like. I am patriotic because the world recognizes me as a member-unit of a political entity that has the gunboats to enforce its decrees on other political entities. I am patriotic because my forefathers have said, "It is good for us to be here," regardless of whether or not the world changes and it may not be good for the children to remain and dwell here after aliens have overrun and besmirched all the institutions which the forefathers founded. I am patriotic because the County

Chairman has declaimed in running for office, "We are the greatest nation on which the sun shines and have never been vanquished by an enemy." I am patriotic because men come from foreign shores to trade with me to my profit under conditions and terms which would not be so profitable if I did not have protective tariffs to coddle me in my commercial activities. I am patriotic because the sum and substance of my national life are demagoguery in action, because in all my affairs I choose to hear the eagles screaming and the cannons belching toward my cousin overseas.

What a travesty on Patriotism? For true patriotism is none of these things, but illusion—bombastic, and reactionary in disaster sooner or later, when some nation comes along strong enough or audacious enough to challenge them.

True patriotism is this: An active knowledge of the sum and substance of my living, expressed in terms of health to my human brother everywhere.

True patriotism is the sending out of moral individuality and mass integrity, cooperating with other nationals everywhere to effect the greatest good to the greatest numbers ✻ ✻

True patriotism is the urge within ourselves as a political unit on the world chessboard, to be a power for constructive altruism—expressed in terms, not of high moral suasion, but in concrete acts of sensible brotherhood ✻ ✻

For when I put these definitions into material practice, I

am doing the most constructive and beneficial thing which I can do for the welfare of my country, for those of my own blood, and clan, and group, who have missions to execute in a world made up of purposeful units. I am thus enabling those of my own blood, and clan, and group, to register on other bloods, and clans, and groups, what is best for all, and mitigating antagonisms that would pull us down to ruin.

To cry bombastically, "My country, right or wrong!" may be good patriotism for July 4th orations, but it may likewise be the most unpatriotic utterance of which a national can be capable when it thus aids and abets national deficiencies that provoke attacks of disgruntled rivals ✻ ✻

So international law must first be premised on a clear understanding of the ingredients entering into it, on a knowledge of the sources from which all law comes—that is ever successful and accomplishes its human purpose—on a realization that no one nation has any monopoly on the human integrities or the human ingenuities ✻ ✻

To define a country's permanent foreign policy on a basis of isolation, and ignorance of self-deficiencies, is to court disaster. To subscribe to any sort of international law that offers as a structure certain exemptions from perfect naturalness in universal human relationships, is to sow tares knowingly and expect that the harvest will be rich in grain.

We are a great people, but withal we are a young

people. And one of the bitterest lessons we have yet to learn is, not to be overcome by the greatest of overcoming ~~it~~ ~~it~~

But we have only dragged the surface of this question of Law in imminent internationality. . . .

THE TWENTY-SECOND DISCUSSION

NATIONS - IN - LAW

✿ THE TWENTY-SECOND DISCUSSION ✿



STATED a few pages back that international law is preponderant with expressionism. That is to say, individual nations or groups make laws all over the world that express their varying states of group consciousness. The East Indian interprets law as the will of his grandiose princeling; his group consciousness rises no higher than obeying the whim of some potentate of higher caste, and he is more or less satisfied to do it since no nation or people tolerate in entirety any legal system of which they do not approve. The Aryan, on the other hand, interprets law as a cross-section of the individual consciousness—that he is part of the general authority and without him no authority is possible, regardless of the whim of his potentate, be he king, president, or arrogant selectman in a little New England village ✿ ✿

The Aryan, and particularly the Anglo-Saxon, has carried in his blood from time immemorial the conscious-

ness of his importance in, and unto, the social structure. No matter how poorly governed he has been, he has uniformly allowed his potentate to exist and function by his sufferance.

The Latin, on the other hand, takes the peculiar position that is half-way between these two, being a throw-back to the Roman world under the Caesars. Understand me, when I say Latin I do not necessarily restrict myself to the Italian. I mean all of those races which came under the sociological influence of Roman Imperialism after the Grecian decline.

The Latin, while taking his law capriciously, likes to be ruled, even to bullying. He has an emotionalism, a petulancy, an ardor, for the proper control above him that is on the whole feminine and lovable in sentimental aspects; but—like womanhood everywhere among advanced species—this ardor and subservience must be accorded to one who commands respect, even though that respect be tinged by the depreciation that accompanies sadism.

That is why dictators are possible, and function most effectively, among peoples of Latin extraction. They want to be made to obey a leader who is worthy of obedience, then they are proud even to arrogance, of that obedience. You cannot take a Latin and make him a self-governing Nordic, so to speak, any more than you can make a woman masculine by dressing her body in masculine garments. Women will be women because

it is their nature to be women, no matter how trite the axiom. There is more behind it when applied to races that exhibit feminism, than the superficial grasp.

Without meaning any specific disrespect to the Latin, but considering him ethnologically, he is a hybrid of a sort, partaking of certain cultural and ethical qualities that come from north, south, east, and west, speaking in terms of genealogical analogies. Or rather, let us say he epitomizes all races, racially, as America epitomizes all races sociologically.

The Latin contains within himself the subservience of the oriental to the princely whim, with the pride of the occidental that he is a conscious part of the State. He knows that he is essential to the State as a State, but more as a woman knows that she is essential to her husband as a woman.

The Nordic indulges in no such emotionalism. He is the impersonal masculine, slow thinking but positive, ready to act after due consideration of a policy, acting with all his powers once he starts into action, tolerant and even childlike in his jurisdictions after he has achieved his goals.

The oriental on the other hand is the instinctive—or perhaps we should say temperamental—student. Considering him as a third factor in imminent internationality, we too often think of him as static when we really find that he is contemplative. Eliminating the East Indian, who is more or less a throw-back to the Greco-Persian and who is not oriental excepting by

residence, the oriental is the scholar and the philosopher. To appeal to him we must touch, not his emotionalism as in the case of the Latin, nor yet his actionism as in the case of the Nordic, but his sense of intellectuality. Mind you, I said "sense" of intellectuality, not Intellectuality itself for that is always relative, consider it how you will.

The oriental moves slowly and only after due consideration of the factors involved. Frequently he can be fanatical, but only after he has made up his mind as to the Whys and Wherefores of his fanaticism. Even then he is contemplative. He is like a great balance-weight on the emotionalism of the Latin and the actionism of the Nordic. He often partakes generously of the cultures of other peoples—at present he seems to be occupied in copying the martial manners of the Nordic with a half-fearful gesture toward some of the cultural forms of the Latin—but he does so meditatively and because he has thought out the reasons or had them borne home to him by reasonable proofs. His sociology is rarely rampant and he likes display and form to take the place of positivism.

These three classifications of humanity, the Nordic, the Latin, and the Oriental, are essentially human with the same humanness in their relations to one another as primates of a cultural extraction. They see government differently because of their temperaments, but only in a few freak exceptions do they differ as human beings in their social relationships. They are born by

the same biological processes, respond to similar reactions throughout childhood, take mates when puberty decrees, and give birth to offspring who in turn carry on racial peculiarities of custom, dress, manners, and religion ❀ ❀

Human nature as human nature is largely the same from Greenland's icy mountain to India's coral strand, from the steppes of Siberia to the sidewalks of New York. Overpopulation, family misconceptions of duty, the dictates of madmen in places of power, may disrupt the racial consciousness for a time and cause practices and bring about abominations which seem to the unlearned to be wholesale departure from the ethical standard. Having traveled in both the East and the West, I speak from observation. I have seen exactly the same humanness of human nature displayed in a mist-lost straw village in the Japanese Alps that I have seen displayed in an equally mist-lost village in Newfoundland.

Great indeed are the departures from a seeming standard at times, often persisting through several generations. None the less, the arc of intercourse straightens out the angle of precipitation, and we have world movements that seem unexplainable, revolutions and quick spurts of evolution, which cannot be interpreted except from the standpoints of perspectives of years.

Regardless of all this, humankind could not function as a species if it lacked the fundamentals making it a species. And chief among these fundamentals is a consciousness, exhibited or implied, that man has an obliga-

tion toward his species in the form of duties and relations toward all his human neighbors. That is to say, man—being a species unto himself—acknowledges specie proclivities toward the determination of what he is, by taking cognizance that he is his brother's keeper. ¶ Battle around it as you will, search the records of every race that has ever appeared in the chronicles of ethnology, and you will find this statement to be preponderant fact.

The very essence of his social alliances, the very nature of his group intercourse, the preponderant tendencies of his political aspirations expressed in tribal, national, or hemispherical achievements, attest to this with irrefutable proof *✱ ✱*

No matter how abominable or abortive may be the incentive in its political aspects, every act of man's life, from changing his socks to continental migration, discloses to the careful student this self-evident actuality: "I am my brother's keeper!" . . .

Recognition of this may be manifested weirdly. It may show itself negatively more often than positively *✱*

¶ No sooner does a king ascend his throne and get his subjects pacified, than he commences to think that the neighboring peoples would get a far better potentate in himself than in the royal jackass now heading their government *✱ ✱*

No sooner does a carpenter saw a board, and nail it into the wall of a house, than he begins to think of his brother workman and what an artist at botchery he is,

and how he should see man number one saw a board—and nail it into place—to properly grasp how the job should be done.

People mistakenly call such instinctive concern, Pride or Vanity. They do not stop to see it as a basic galvanism in the human species that concerns itself with the welfare of the other fellow either constructively or destructively, and sometimes both.

It is only another phase of the old, old adage that “a man is not a man until he is some other man’s servant.” . . .

¶ Take this interest of men in one another out of the human race, and you have a passive animalism that gets nowhere and does nothing.

The true galvanism behind all human activity is nothing more nor less than the consciousness: I have duties to perform to others beside myself and family.

Every race is rich in history according as that galvanism has been militant or static, aggressive or phlegmatic.

¶ The Hebrew race is made up of “God’s Chosen People”—we are told. If God is Love, and one of the greatest ingredients of Love is altruism, no matter how mistakenly or viciously exerted, does it not become apparent whereof this insolent designation comes about? The Hebrew people, more than any other since the Atlantean cataclysm, have exhibited this concern for the rest of the species, albeit they have done it in vicious negativity.

Their conception of the one God, Jehovah, was commendable in this, that they made Him represent their

collective concern for the rest of the world by the inverse method of private monopoly. Their God was the God of the universe truly, a sublimation of Moses, with all powers of creation or extinction at His caprice. Hebrews were the favorites of that God because they fancied they obeyed His commandments and followed His instructions. What were they really doing but negatively expressing supreme concern for all other peoples outside the pale of His benefaction?

If this were not so, those early Hebraic tribes would never have bethought themselves to be the mortal receivers of the Creator's preferences.

Or again, when Moses led the Children of Israel to the gateway of their Promised Land, why should they have taken counsel together as to its allotment among themselves if it had not been concern for its peoples therein before them? They knew naught of those peoples excepting that they existed; but if one will read Scripture carefully, particularly the story of the Exodus, he will find page after page of what can best be described as "political concernment" for those who must suffer that the Israelites might profit.

Man is distinguished from the beasts in this regard, that he thinks of the other fellow in terms of himself, not always consciously it is true, not always in terms of the Golden Rule—indeed quite the reverse. Even his cruelties and malpractices have in them a transference of himself in indignation or imagination into the plight of the fellow so victimized.

Make no mistake about this, man is a universal creature. Why it should be so, is not for present discourse. He has come a long way on his present messianic ministry to himself, carrying his cross willingly, profitably, blasphemously, or mutely, according to his race and racial temperament. But he thinks in terms of the other fellow, seen through the eyes of the creature that is himself. . . .

Now then, with this as a premise, let us examine a structure that might serve men politically and governmentally to give them greater freedom of racial expression with less obstruction from private interests seeking private profits from their enslavements.

What do we essentially need to perfect a type of organization, earth-encompassing in its jurisdiction, that permits the freedom—constructive and legitimate—that lets the most worthy race enjoy its ennoblement without danger or threat from the ignorant, malicious, envious, and debased, with all intermediary degrees of progress and self-expression down the rungs of the ladder of world society?



ANKIND cannot have a society, any kind of society, that is not predicated on some sort of security—security of person, security of family continuity, security of property. Half of the nations of the earth that we call decadent at present, certainly backward in their civilization ethically if not culturally, have become so by nothing more nor less than insecurity in their social concepts.

Take China for instance. Nearly four thousands of years saw her culture maintained because her empire was so big, its geography such, and the fecundity of her people such, that nothing could be brought to bear effectively against her security as a country. As a result of this, China knew her period of economic flowering.

¶ India on the other hand, being more a geographical area where petty potentates scourged the land with their martial abominations, became the most glaring example we have on the globe, of a civilized and highly spiritual people reduced to mortal, ethical, and financial beggary ❀ ❀

These things do not happen by chance. Security is not only good economics but good psychology. Man makes two blades of grass grow where but one grew before, in response to the urge toward profiting himself and making life more enjoyable from either the comfort or esthetic standpoint.

Nature has given man a body that demands sustenance. Man has so complicated and multiplied his

activities as an animal that he would perish in half a generation if he did not enhance the productivity of natural earthly resource by artificial stimulation. This is a law of physics more than economics. He must hustle up Old Mother Earth or her mammalian glands dry up and as a suckling infant he will starve. He must hustle her up, that is, by artificial stimulation of her lacteal emissions.

That is the whole law of economic civilization expressed in terms of physics. If a man cannot utilize, however—or is kept from utilizing—that which he has made an effort to realize, his commonsense and God-given reason—elemental of operation—will restrain him from making the effort after one or two experiences with prevention. Multiply this by a continent and you have international intrigue in forms that are virulent.

Any people will go to war for a principle. But for every race that will war for a principle, ten races will stay at home to defend their firesides—or rather, defend the artificial stimulation of Nature which they have attempted or succeeded in attaining.

Now then, take those ten races and say to them, "Across the sea are ten other races rich in worldly goods. What will you do about them? . . . Will you leave them in possession of those goods, or go and attack them and wrest those goods from them?"

The first ten nations will take counsel among themselves as follows: "By going overseas and making this attachment will we come into possession of more goods than

we possess already, and if we do, what is the cost to be paid in reaction? Can we snatch those goods and come back to our land—where we have profited to a degree already and where we have possessions in hand—or will it be necessary to seize the land as lands and occupy them to make our clutchings permanent? If this last, what shall we do with the human souls in occupancy? Shall we put them to the sword or shall we settle down amongst them as their rulers? Is their culture such that ours will be assimilated, or will we assimilate theirs? If our sons marry their daughters, what sort of children will rise up to ultimately dethrone both of us?"

¶ These questions constitute the A-B-C's of international diplomacy, or rather, in a handful of sentences we have the crude fundamentals of international politics.

When nation goes out against nation, the result is either one of two things: The first will either come back laden with spoils, or it will stay and take its chances on survival. Granted that it does survive, history is replete with instances of world powers brought down to the dust by misinterpretation of such simple fundamentals.

¶ Man has a queer humor to know the unknowable and ponder the imponderable. This humor is responsible for his being on earth. If he knows all there is to know—or rather, all there is to be learned—from experience, or if he were wise enough to foretell infallibly what would be the result of every move on the chessboard of life, Life itself would be quite unnecessary.

Life is a Finding-Out of that which must be experienced,

to be so found out in all its fecundities. Life is more. Life is an attempt to approximate, in lesser mold, the divine creation. And as all creation must proceed according to standards or result in chaos, Life is essentially the finding and fixing of standards.

Based on this theory, Life becomes a paradox. It seeks to discover and it does discover, then it turns completely about and becomes the thing discovered. Considering Life as a paradox, has perplexed more good souls, and made more atheists and Caligulas of them, than any other source of mischief in the universe.

Yet Life, while a paradox of terms, is far from being a paradox of ideas. In that exposition, I think, is the Great Enigma's secret.

Consider Life now as a "finding out" civically. . . .

Ten nations are intrigued and go on a migration, assaulting, looting, conquering as they advance. Through some sort of credible evidence they must believe that ahead of them there is more to be gained than they are leaving behind. This applies theoretically as well as actually. It applies spiritually as well as physically. It applies as much to an empire that sends steel fighting machines five thousand miles distant and indolently awaits their return, as to Iranus leading his hosts in person over the mountain passes of Afghanistan. It is no less true of a people driven westward over the plains of Poland and down into the Danube Valley, than it is of the country that sets up a commercial boycott when its ships are treated with disrespect in port. We say

that Trade follows the flag, that selfish commercialism is at the bottom of world conquest. But that is not true. Or rather, it is a misrepresentation of facts in the light of history. If Trade follows the flag, pray what does the flag follow? Every result must have a cause. Deeper than trade or flag, is the underlying motivation of the hope on the part of a people that, by some process or other, the mammalian glands of Old Mother Nature may be stimulated to increase with less effort and distress to both children and mother. Always we get back to the old, old premise: If a man can make two blades of grass grow where but one grew before, he can raise cities; if he can raise cities he can found dynasties; if he can found dynasties he can make himself so powerful that perchance he can compel other peoples to grow his two blades of grass, therefore he will get the same result in life sustenance without planting at all.

That indeed is Nature Stimulation lifted to a zenith of sublimation, and is the true essence behind every urge of peoples to fold up their tents and explore a new country. They are magnificent adventurers, no matter how shoddy in civilization. But they are more. So long as they are capable of responding to that stimulus, they are capable of enhancing the species; because they are capable of thinking in terms of the other fellow, whether he dwell in the same tent as brother, or whether he dwell in cities afar as adversary to be conquered and victimized into growing four blades of grass—two for himself and two for his masters.



INTERPRETED therefore in terms of world political structure, we find confronting those of us who would effect it, a strange obstruction. We say to human nature for the first time in history, "You cannot fold up your tents and go hence; you are forbidden to do it." Human nature says to us, "Indeed, and who forbids us? . . . our couriers have brought word that lying east or west are greener pastures and purer waters, . . . have we not as much right to them as those who now possess them? . . . did they not take them from someone else? . . . why therefore should we not seize them, since seizing is a process authorized by Nature herself in the fecundities that we possess for making the grab successful?"

We say to human nature, "Then by what right do you hold that which you now possess?"

Human nature says, "Ah, that is different. When our fathers came to this—our land—it was a desert giving nothing. They tilled it and built barns; therefore, by right of improvement, we hold it."

We say to human nature, "Then may it not be true, as well, that those whose pastures and streams you covet, likewise have title by reason of improvement?"

But what is the answer invariably received? "We do not argue the proposition in equity. Let those who think they have title to either territory or improvements, defend them both as we defend ours!" And forthwith, the army, or navy, or migration, gets into motion.

This is a primary school method, of course, of expounding the axiom that Might makes Right, that preponderance of arms means equity in the attainments of those arms; that the nation that can make its claims good, is moral.

Very well then, suppose we accept the dictum and see what happens. . . .

The army, or navy, or the migration, gets in motion. In due time it comes in sight of its quarry and achieves its goal by bloodshed, threat, or diplomacy. It enters into its unlawful heritage and either loots and returns, or seizes and settles. The inhabitants of the attacked country are killed, driven forth, or enslaved.

But what really happens over a period of time? Let it be firmly established, that no people as a whole is utterly killed or conquered.

There is no grimmer actuality than that matter or energy cannot be annihilated once it is created. It may change its form. It may be forced into other avenues. But it can never be erased and made into nothing. The law of the universe does not work that way, and until nations, as well as physicists, realize it, there will never be an end to calamities between themselves; for what applies to matter and energy, applies with doubled force to mortal life in terms of race cultures.

A conquering nation may loot splendidly. It may transport its loot back to the country it calls Home. But the end is not there. The vicious forces have been set at work. Vicious influences are loosed. Vicious traits

are projected and a great law of Compensatory Balance is upset ✻ ✻

That is to say, price must be paid for everything owned or enjoyed, possessed or attained, for that in which effort of any kind is involved.

The victors come home with their loot and apparently it profits the looters insofar as physical substance is concerned ✻ ✻

But Equity is not slain, and will not be suppressed. The soldiers who did the looting, bring back the plunder. But they have strangled themselves spiritually. They have retrograded in the finer aspects of human character. They have become beasts of prey who would as willingly—and often do as eagerly—become as much despoilers at home as they have ever been abroad. Every general knows that a conquering army, returned home, must be kept employed or it immediately becomes a menace.

This negative compensation, however, is too elusive to be descried or given much importance among nations who look to war to benefit estates of government. The real damage comes not in the grossness imparted to a soldiery—bad as history has brought down to us in many instances—but in the real effect of wanton exploitation as visited on those unto whom the spoils come! ✻ ✻

Labor—honest, backbreaking toil to realize a given product legitimately—is far from being the curse which certain theologians or caste acclaintants would have us

believe, a la the fable of the Garden of Eden. Neither is it noble or a blessing, as some economists and sentimentalists would try to persuade us, and eulogize in murals ✿ ✿

Labor is a fact of life, divine in its import, visited on man as a factor in evolution. It says to man, "Do this and gain a result. In doing you gain in contributory vicissitude and experimental knowledge. You see other avenues of interesting activity open out from it, or as a result of it. You experience feelings and sensations you came to earth to know. You learn patience, diligence of application, stability of character, temerity of address, profit of contact in relationships accruing from it ✿ ✿

Labor of itself is little or nothing. You earn a dollar by it and spend the dollar. Your back is clothed, your stomach has food. But these are only incidental to what really has occurred, or rather, achieved.

You have progressed an infinitesimal distance in spiritual evolution, although you may not recognize it. You have done something no beast can do, no matter how hard it labors beneath its yoke; you have known a compensation that is not of flesh, whose ramifications halt only when you choose to halt them.

Your labor multiplies your human contacts. By proper manipulation of your effort in proper coordination of all your faculties, you lift yourself constructively higher and surer in the prestige of your fellows. You open more and wider doorways, giving ever-increasing

strength of illumination to the lamp of your character.

¶ If all this be a "curse," then God is a lunatic. Looked at in the light of associated increments, Labor is not the play of muscles or the galvanism of the mental faculties. It is the function of man's being, whereby he knows how to value that which has value, and by which he learns the infinite possibilities of cosmic revelation ¶



¶ Now then, a people to whom the spoils of war are brought home, do what? They have received values for which they have not labored, and insofar as they go, those values are as merchandizable as any values attained by the sweat of honest toil. But the people receiving them also receive a blanket invitation and opportunity to atrophy—at least in spirit. Application to daily tasks is lightened or ended. Spiritual interpretations of profit, coming in a continual fountain from honest transformation of energy into the fruits of industry, are aborted or halted. The populace gives itself to games by day and revelry by night. Social conscience is suspended. Moral lethargy takes its place, and society as such commences to disintegrate. The retrograde movement is at first so imperceptible that it causes no comment, in the universal joy at release from expenditure of energy. But like the small boy who would not wash behind his ears because he said he always met people face to face, the nation so jeopardized does not realize that all contacts are not made face to face, that from behind are coming incredible numbers of persons and dangers, that eternal vigilance is the price of spirit-



ual progress as well as of salvation, that vigilance must be exercised on all sides and in every quarter, or calamity will overtake it.



Sooner or later, of course, calamity does overtake it.

The first great world-conquerors of historical times, deployed out of Egypt. They brought home loot and instantly gave their peoples a taste of values received otherwise than from labor. They loosed forces that rocked their dynasties. The minute they got rich and powerful from loot, they not only relaxed vigilance toward their enemies, but they fired those enemies with envy that in proper time provoked return attack.

Cyrus tried to conquer all Mediterraneus, no less than his Babylonian predecessors. His kingdom, rich in spoils, was attacked by vultures within and without.

Alexander strode forth and gathered kingdom after kingdom into his basket of rampant megalomania. His soldiers returned home, lush with spoils, and his people perished beneath the despotism of a power-drunken army  

Rome came to power and went the same way—the five hundred years of her “glory” but a pathetic moment in eternity  

Napoleon headed the Red Army of bolshevist France and strode across Europe, leaving it a shambles. Every State that he conquered arose and took greater toll from France, than France ever wrested from it in money or in art  

Twenty-one years ago, under the strategizings of the

predatory Jews, the Roman Idea came again to fruition in the concepts of central Europe. Its operations cost the United States—a minor and distant participant—forty billion dollars. What it cost the major nations involved can scarcely be totaled—and just twenty years later the same sizable conflict is due to break out again. The only thing that arrests it is exhaustion of treasure. ¶ The conquering of the world has never been done, and never will be done. From Genghis Khan to Bonaparte, from Charlemagne to Wilhelm, the world-empire lure has made modern history a comedy of errors.

And why not?

The world must learn that nothing is ever gained without due Compensation. The world must learn that mankind cannot whip Nature's second law: To work is to live, securely and upwardly.

When mankind understands this universally, Utopia will be with us—not a Utopia where men sit around in golden robes and smoke Olympian cigars while their women loll in silks and run their households by the waving of pink fingers—but a utopia in the sense of society being obedient to natural laws, with harmony and longevity the awards automatically.

The sooner those laws are recognized—or rather, the sooner the Great Law is recognized—the sooner will utopia become a practical business.

Or take another angle of our more recent premise: Suppose a people fold up their tents and migrate to another country, conquering and settling. Suppose they work

hard to hold their positions gained by grim seizure. What do we find contraposed—or in the violation of Nature's Second Law? . . .



HOSE people who lose control of themselves, so to speak, and see values in other people's possessions surpassing their own—so that they go and acquire those possessions by force—have an accounting to face, more vital in its effect on themselves than on those who are so looted. Spoliation is a liability to a nation only insofar as it affects the current generation or the generation immediately following, or so long as the plunder holds out and affects the lives of those who "profit" by it. But in the case of those who seize and settle, we have a graphic illustration of the sins of the fathers being visited upon the children.

That is to say, the immediate generation, like the despoiling one, is not the only generation affected; nor are the generations succeeding, from the conquering fathers—and looted mothers—sufferers under the effects of the pillage ❧ ❧

There are the people, and the descendants of the people who are conquered and looted, to be taken into account. ¶ When you have a people reduced to beggary, disturbed in their national affairs, forced to flee from depredation or submitting to it, you have a force generated which neither the average man, politician, or so-called statesman, gives the requisite attention.

You have a force generated and launched into existence with all its destructive potencies, which is bound to react with the most disastrous calamity on those who projected it *to to*

This force is generated by disturbance. It is not generally conceded that it exists. Mitigating factors in its destructive influence down a hundred generations, may have a tendency to disguise its effects or make them less dramatic. Nevertheless this force exists and does every kind of evil, from disrupting family relationships to breeding abominations in the thinking of citizens. It is elusive when it comes to concrete perception in its workings; all the same, its workings manifest, and I wish to go into them a moment as an interesting sidelight on the Law of Compensation. . . .

THE TWENTY-THIRD DISCUSSION

NATIONS - IN - LAW

THE TWENTY-THIRD DISCUSSION



WHEN a nation makes war on another nation, seizes its holdings and diverts them permanently to the uses of the first nation, what, specifically, is the thing that has been done? Not alone the commission of theft in its most flagrant and wholesale form—that is conceded and laughed at as part of the great game of internationalism—but more than theft has been consummated, more than murder has been left. A great mountain of hate has been erected, which overhangs both peoples like a perpetual Vesuvius, likely at any moment to bury the surrounding countries beneath a smother of hot ash. ¶ People are prone to laugh at this mountain even while admitting it, or to scoff at its existence, saying, “Nevertheless we will live in its shadow, for the values to be gained in national enhancements. We care little or nothing for volcanoes as such. Die we must at some time, and assuredly but once. Meanwhile let us eat, drink, and be merry—on the spoils of our conquest”

¶ So ignoring the menace hanging over them, they proceed to interpret hate as a necessary condition of affairs, and lie down in the midst of it without thought of the morrow ¶¶

In due course of time that mountain explodes. There are rebellion and massacre, certainly there is tumult. Peoples rise against peoples and slay them in their beds, or the military—always resting on its arms—is called in and functions, deliberately suppressing the lawful desires of the vanquished to regain what is their own. A condition of affairs exists in which the conquerors become armed guards over that to which they have never had title ¶¶

Generation after generation of this may go on, till the original causes of the feud may be forgotten. Peoples may assimilate peoples and the wrong seem to have vanished. But wrong never vanishes until it is rectified. Witness the Balkans of the present. When the causes of the wrong have become so obliterated that they cannot be rectified deliberately and purposely, rectification comes in other forms. These forms are many, and would startle statesmen from their slumbers if they were known for what they are.

Peoples cannot take the goods, lands, or bodies of other peoples, and subject them to spoliation, without bringing definite things to pass. In the first place a conquered nation is usually a weaker nation, a less valiant nation, a nation that has weakness in the social fabric causing it to tear easily and expose the flesh beneath.

The nation which conquers therefore does this: It says to itself, "We will go over into yonder land and take it, seizing its inhabitants and profiting by its goods." The shortsightedness of the policy is overlooked in the lust for immediate gains, for if the conquerors settle down in the lands which they have taken, they are proclaiming in effect, "We will deliberately water our clean racial bloods with the weaker strain. We will deliberately subject our children to a bastardy of blood. We will make hybrids of our progeny, and devitalize ourselves as a racial group. In time we shall lose our racial character by this process. We shall create a mountain of dissatisfaction with our present institutions. We will dissipate our present heritage among an alien people, for put them to the sword we cannot. Such butchery would be impossible. Their very carcasses would impede our progress, and loose bloodlust upon our own stock. Therefore we must either drive them out, subject them to slavery, or assimilate them. Driving them out, like slaughter, is impracticable, for we would arouse the enmity of those into whose lands the conquered are driven. We would only create a formidable force against us, watching on the frontiers of the new land for a chance to press back and reconquer that which has been seized. Therefore we must reduce to slavery, or a state of tribute-payers and foreigners, those whom we subject to our victorious assaults."

But has any nation ever had within its borders a slave caste, or a subject people, that it did not pay a price in

equity for their presence all out of proportion to the profits from such vassalage?

A conquered people is an alien people. A conquering people is a people having within its heart the incubus of turmoil, disruption, and catastrophe. It is a people knowing not on which night it may lie down to slumber and be murdered in its bed. It is a people instinctively recognizing the spiritual law of equity but consciously and deliberately suppressing it and saying, "It has no potency that force cannot equal or outbalance."

Such a nation is hoaxing itself with the most stupendous, artful hoax. It is doing more. It is setting up for its children the most vicious and malignant of paradoxes—that Might may make Right. It is saying to its children, "Your fathers showed themselves to be above spiritual law, therefore you have license to disregard all law; for are not the children greater than the fathers, being receivers of the fathers' wisdom in addition to their own? You are a law unto yourselves, therefore you need take no heed to any law of any nation provided you can acquire the force that shall thwart it" ❖ ❖

The children, by precept and example, believe this in their thinking. And what is the result? The conquering nation settles into a slough of error that immediately breeds more error—out of which comes a Frankenstein of immorality, bloodlust and bewitchment, that makes of the nation a gross machine for destruction or a namby-pamby coagulation of spiritual mis-

fits in a world whose format is Compensation ✚ ✚
I am well aware that races and nations, minded to assault other nations and races and do theft and murder on them, are scarcely possessed of those spiritual perceptions whereby the well-being of their progeny is thus recognized. Such races or nations, having no inherent love for their neighbors as fellow motrals, cannot project love for their offspring very far into the future. They are essentially selfish and certainly egocentric. They are content with the bird in the hand for themselves rather than the two birds in the bush that may one day sing songs or lay eggs for their progeny. And this is as it should be—strange to say—for the children of such forebears will be like the forebears, and as the forebears deserved punishment, so will the children receive it.

This may seem a cruel law, but until it is universally understood why certain peoples breed definite kinds of children, we cannot hope to expound a principle that is equitable in its effects.

We have then, a people of given talents and valiance, attaching themselves to another people and temporarily gaining. But the world today is in a typhoon of tumult in that all up the years unlawful seizures, and group disintegratings resulting, have infected humanity with diseases of hatred that, generation after generation, have gone on multiplying, growing more and more malignant, until the point is being reached where no palliative is possible ✚ ✚

No remedy is possible, that is, but a drastic recognition of first principles, and an admission that the Law of Compensation cannot be outwitted.

We have nations whose only desire now is to live by conquest. We have nations whose only hope is to commit depredations as a means to self-ennoblement. We have nations that live from year to year in the roles of opportunists, watching eagle-eyed for a chance to redress ancient wrongs, real or fancied, and build themselves palaces on shores from which their forefathers were long since driven. We have nations seeking by treaty to penetrate other nations—peaceably—for a time, that they may secure such foothold in fields foreign to them and that make demands equivalent to conquest, succeeding in wresting by those demands that which their forefathers would have gained by the sword. We have nations lying in wait to inflict an odious culture on other nations, to overturn systems of free government and substitute an eccentric oligarchy, deeming it wise, in their own conceits, to prescribe that which neighboring peoples should have and do. We have nations deliberately awaiting the moment when neighbor is set against neighbor, that they may cast the influence of their military power on the side that will repay them with maximum advantage. We have nations whose chief aim is the obliteration of other nations for no other reason than that their culture or manner of worshipping God is obnoxious.

All these nations are set in the same world arena, exer-

cising on the same planet, and composed of creatures essentially alike. Their animosities would be silly were it not for the fact that they are wholly legitimate—that they are the direct result of unlawful seizure transacted generations ago and contributing to the mountain of hatred that was birthed from such iniquities.

The nation that goes on a conquest and seizes the lands, properties, and bodies of others, is therefore committing the crime of crimes, not against its neighbor so much as its own children.

This is a tenet which the megalomaniacal Jew is about to learn terribly.


More than this, such a people is committing a transgression against itself which may not be fully understood in science and sociology for another thousand years—to wit, that it is attracting unto itself, in the spirits of its progeny, souls that are no better than those of its forebears. It is deliberately shaping the character of its progeny, considered as a unit, in that it is inviting into the bodies of such progeny all the unfortunate, decadent, malformed, and unlearned, among the characters in what may be termed the prenatal world, inducting them into physical life and passing on its heritage to such.

This is not Eastern occultism, theosophy, or spirituality gone rampant in erotic mysticism. It is hard-boiled esoteric fact, well known and recognized by the Enlightened, attested everywhere in sacred script, and doubly attested in life all about us.

Nations whose civic codes are high, whose social life is pleasant, whose habits of living are wholly desirable to persons of education and refinement, are naturally the rendezvous in life for souls of similar caste and accomplishment. They are made up of "people like themselves," whereas nations whose tenets comprise selfishness, bloodlust, greed and filth, draw to themselves those whose characters delight in such decadence.

Modern science, being infantile in spiritual recognitions, seeks to explain this—and does explain it in a measure—by the homiletic structure named Heredity and Environment, taking no account of the mystery of counterpositions of character and inclination, assumed by those who constitute exceptions to the Heredity-Environment theory. It is easier to assume that a decadent soul for some reason or other has ventured into a higher social stratum and become born into a nation, or station, to which it does not characteristically belong, making the exception referred to in eugenics, than that natural law as expounded in the Heredity-Environment theory is constantly violated.

However, this is not a metaphysical discussion. The idea is injected here for those ready to receive it.

Every person living on this earth will admit, if he be honest, that he knows in his heart of hearts that he has lived before, but why and in what order, he cannot attest. The theory holds, however, when we employ it to buttress the doctrine that nations are its living exponents 

Mussolini has said that he regards it as his sacred duty to uplift Italy and put her back on her pedestal among the nations. What is he doing but admitting in essence that he is sent by the Great Providence that controls these laws, to make of Italy a State in which high-caste, kindly, and beautiful souls want to be born and live out another experience as mortal entities?



I am a reincarnationist in this: that I see no need of—or sense of policy in—earthly life as such, unless it be that existence is in its essence a beautiful adventure from which we extract spiritual values that we carry on with us into higher states of consciousness. No one can quarrel with me, I think, on this designation. The quarrel comes in its interpretation by those who have not yet reached that spiritual stage that permits them to see the ramifications and concretions of the principle. ¶ But let us get back to our dissertation on international conquest. . . .

A nation goes forth and assails its neighbor. It enforces on that neighbor a form of servitude, conscious or unconscious, deliberate or non-deliberate. It says to the conquered, "Do as we tell you or we shall butcher you." It takes no thought of reactions, impulses, or denouement in characters. It is insolent in its insinuations, overbearing in its fiats.

In time it does one of two things: either it receives the weaker people into itself, diluting its stock as I have said, or it becomes immune to hatred and goes on to further excesses and violations of similar character but

ever wider in scope. In either event, sooner or later there is the devil to pay.

Institutions suffer by reason of the injection of the weaker strain and the detrimental effects resulting from the contamination of a subject people. Or the errand on which the offending nation started, is magnified into monstrosity, and in the exact ratio that it meets with success, it builds up an adversary of hatred, suspicion, malice and envy, that some day must be reckoned with.

¶ Bismark thought himself clever in building up Germany on conquered peoples' assets. Fifty years later Germany made a fearsome relinquishment of her gains with interest compounded. Napoleon thought himself clever in bestriding France and riding her hither and yon among the nations of Europe, gaining affluence where he rode. No one can say what the history of France might have been, had the Little Corporal not butchered hundreds of thousands of her sons and engendered hatreds that began to right themselves even in his lifetime. The hosts of the pagan emperors, from Genghis Khan back to the Pharaohs, rioted among their contemporaries for their little moment in history. But summing up all their activities, and viewing them from time's perspectives, to what did their grandiose activities amount?  

Permanence of jurisdiction is shown to be impossible. The survival of hatreds, malformations, and abominatory influences, is seen to be colossal—moving down the years in spiked boots and calling the children's

children to eventual accounting. Each war has to be adjusted by a greater war. That in turn must be adjusted by a still greater war. And yet nations will never seem to learn, any more than races.

We have the spectacle of modern America treating her Indian wards and aboriginal hostages with discredit to such an extent that wherever they have touched the social body they have left a fester. The Indian today is the gainer by the treatment accorded him—socially, financially, and culturally, judged by our standards of living—whereas the white man has paid and paid and paid. True, he has not paid to the extent of extermination, but he has paid in blood and dollars, in criticism and timidity of spirit. He has seen his Indian wards triumph time and time again in diplomacy, only to use blind force against such winnings and put smudges and smears on the pages of history that must be deleted, expurgated, or misrepresented for children in the public schools ✿ ✿

The red man has not been assimilated and never can be assimilated. He is a concurrent liability, a deadly sore, wherever he congregates and contacts white society. He takes and he takes. He will go on taking, until he is exterminated or his children gradually win back the territory which he originally occupied. And this last is not the absurdity that it appears at first glance ✿ ✿

Greater civilizations than America's in this twentieth century, now lie buried under the top-soils of both

eastern and western hemispheres—civilizations that in their day seemed even more permanent and omnipotent than that now prevailing in the United States. A sudden tilt of the planet, causing a climatical change that would drive the white peoples southward—causing them to abandon their unlivable cities for another glacial era—would see the red man revert to type and slowly reinhabit those broad sweeps of terrain where once before he was supreme. It is a fact well known to geologists that a radical alteration in the floors of either the Atlantic or the Pacific, caused by the proper submarine earthquake, could elevate the waters of the earth from twenty to forty feet. In half an hour the contours of the North American continent could be so changed that all of our seaboard cities would be obliterated forever. Our midwestern states from the Alleghenies to the Rockies would become submerged—reverting to old Lake Agassiz—and living conditions would be so altered that only remnants of our present race would endure.

Let us not say in our conceit that we have conquered or obliterated the red man. The fact remains that no people has ever been the booty of other people without compensation being exacted in perfect ratio to the brutality, arrogance, or lack of equity, with which the seizure was achieved.

This is a world of Balance. Again and again I say it. It is a world in which Cause and Effect are equal and supreme, the fundamental law beneath all laws, al-

ways preceed Effect. Sometimes we reap before we sow. The old axiom had it, "We reap that we may sow again."

Laws as laws are adamant of expression else they are not laws at all.

God Himself—theologically speaking—cannot transgress them, for they partake of the essence of all things created ✠ ✠

Now let us take a new departure in our thinking . . .

THE TWENTY-FOURTH DISCUSSION

NATIONS - IN - LAW

✠ THE TWENTY-FOURTH DISCUSSION ✠



ALL conquering nations, I have said, are impeded in their progress by mountains of hate of their own creation. When those mountains tower sufficiently high to topple of their own weight, calamity is as certain to those beneath them as the law of gravitation. But where does this get us in a world of practical politics? ¶ Statesmen are not prone to be frightened by bugaboos, or even the fundamentals of esoterics. Politics is the science of the immediately possible. When a group of men decide that war is feasible, they are thinking in terms of the present generation and the problems of the moment, bequeathing to their children the problems of the future resulting from their decisions. Statesmen are not children, at least in world vision. They are hard-headed sophists who must have their hands on two dollars before they will let their one dollar slip. They are men who have been through experiences that tend to make them ruthless in the application of abstract prin-

ciples, provided those principles are sufficiently provocative. They see only the problem of the moment, and if they sense the problems of the future, they leave to posterity the finding of solutions. Many a statesman has said to himself, "Our fathers bequeathed their problems to us, so why should we not give our children our problems for solution?"—wholly ignoring the fact that some problems are incapable of solution and that the bequest of such is an annihilation of the right of bequest ✻ ✻

Now, no generation has the right to pass on to its progeny an imponderable equation. That is not bequest in its bona fide sense.

It is malignant cowardice and introvert sin.

It is saying to the children, "We damn you with our incurable disease, we visit on you our sins against the Holy Spirit, knowing in advance that they are unforgivable" ✻ ✻

When nations or statesmen do this, they are dealing in imponderables themselves—imponderables, that is, in a sense of absolutions and discrepancies to which they have no more license than Lucifer had license to inherit High Heaven. They are taking monsters of their own creation, setting them up as deities, and expecting them, and permitting them, to be fed with the living bodies of their progeny.

The law of construction, of progress, of charity, of education, of forward ethical movement, is the Law of Survival. Its penalty for violation is non-survival. The

extinction of the violator may come instantly or over a span of generations; but it comes unerringly, as all historical and religious doctrine attests without an argument ❀ ❀

Nations which disregard these laws not only court calamity but encounter catastrophe. They dig their own graves as inexorably as the dictum that a living child cannot be stopped from becoming an adult by encasing its body in a block of cement.

You cannot have a nation build permanently on bloodshed. No peoples can rise to grandeur on the bodies of conquered serfs—it has never been done and never will be done. Looking back at history, even the comparatively short span of 5,000 years, those races that have survived every catastrophe of man and Nature, have been those that stayed peaceably at home on the terrain allotted to them by Providence, coveted no spoils, looked for no worldly advancement from beyond their horizons ❀ ❀

China is, of course, our outstanding example. The latest ethnological estimates have it that China has persisted upwards of 25,000 years as a culture unto herself, unconquered and unconquerable. The written records of China go back only 4,000 to 5,000 years, but it must have been at least 20,000 years before they began, that the Chinese culture came out of the Lemurian. In all that time, China has entertained no inherent warlike designs on her neighbors, asked little of them that she did not pay for, peaceably evolved for herself those

social values that have kept her intact for the last 250 centuries, so long a time back that it requires information from Tibetan monasteries to tell us the truth about her origin and longevity.

If the argument be advanced that at some time or other China must have played the role of conqueror and therefore my theory is fallacious, I refer you to ethnology and even anthropology—excavated crania tell the story even though esoteric sources be disregarded.

If the contention be interposed that many, many times the Chinese have been conquered, I make the stipulation that for a real conquering there must be a permanency to the conquest, till one nation or the other is shown to be permanent. The nomad Mongols who did most of the conquering of China within comparatively recent times were temporary looters who swiftly passed from the stage of history or were absorbed by the Chinese people themselves. They left only a reigning caste to show that they existed.

Incidentally, those Mongols were not Chinese, but quickly enough did the Chinese culture swamp them. The Tibetan Palao-Alpines were not Chinese. The Chinese of the Middle Kingdom—the true Chinese—originated in the valley of the Wei River. They were a sedentary, agricultural people organized in a series of small city States and surrounded on all sides by "barbarians." They were as nearly a pure and unadulterated race—as races are conceived in modern times or since the great Pacific catastrophe of 80,000 years ago, doli-

chocephalic in crania in the center of a vast ring of brachycephali—as we have any ethnological record in in the history of the species.

Caspian and Mongol, which included the Iranian crossed with the Tatar, impinged on this people on the north, from far, far back in Neolithic times. People of Alpine stock came in from the west. The Proto-negroids, the Proto-australoids, and the negritic aborigines, interpenetrated from the south. Regardless of these, the Chinese kept strongly egocentric, tenacious and resilient, the toughest social fabric that has ever appeared on the modern earth. They launched no wars, cared not for the rest of the world, were intent on pursuing their own culture, and absorbed as gigantic an influx of humanity as the horde under Genghis Khan to the utter extinction of the latter as a race, as I have stated.

What can be said for the Chinese as a race can be said for many of the lesser races—the Dravidians of India, the Picts of Britain, the negroids of Africa. Wherever a race has attended to its own household, entertained no lawful or unlawful designs against its neighbors, valued its own heritage and “come clean” in the councils of internationality, it has prospered in the sense of racial endurance ❀ ❀

Wherever races have picked up their tents and women, their flocks and their swords, and sought a “promised land,” they have either disintegrated, or been driven back whence they came, or passed on as wanderers over the earth’s surface

Where are the Goths of early Europe? What has become of the Romans as a people? Never was it more truly said, "Those who take up the sword shall perish by the sword," than in this long carousal of the peoples of the earth into one another's territories.

No State anywhere has bought permanent magnificence by conquest.

No State anywhere has been permanently built on the plundering of weaker nations. I can point you out disintegration and racial impotency for every ethnological migration that you can call up, that had pure conquest for its motive.

History is a black page of ignoble failure wherever princes have looted to grow mightier.

The question naturally arises—assuming all this academically for the moment—what is to be the remedy in a world where States have become so intermingled in iniquity that they cannot disassociate themselves from one another and return to the original locations or terrains that were responsible for their differences?

We know that some races exist today that are called "pure" races that are nothing of the sort. Two or more races have so blended that the result—a hybrid—is everywhere thought of as a pure racial stock. To unscramble all this, of course, is madness. Furthermore, we realize that the present status quo is no remedy for the immense amount of wrong-doing—internationally speaking—that has gone on from time immemorial, causing racial animosities that only require a spark to

touch off a mighty conflagration ❀ ❀ ❀ ❀
This brings us to the heart of our discourse, especially as the question also arises to the practical mind of the present, "Well, and what of it? Mightn't such cross-breeding be Nature's method for selectively improving the species?"

These nations are scattered all over the earth. Their problems are universal. Europe is a tinder-box, having within its confines fecundities for world explosion. Asia is an equal headache; the Chinaman is starting out on a journey that may mean his disintegration as a stock. The Russian—under the Jew—is a barrier at present between Europe and Asia, but there is every indication that he will combine with the Chinaman before he combines with the European, introducing a new state of affairs into European politics, or—for that matter—world statesmanship. Neither race is fully aware of this eventuality at present, but there are some of us who read Signs Not of Earth, and know whereof we speak. The Chinaman will not be satisfied with overrunning Asia; he will attempt to gain more than his lost "face" at the hands of the Aryan, but in the gaining he may lose his race-soul. It will be the Aryan Confederation that will ultimately deal with both Jew and Oriental; and, whether or not I am hooted for my prediction, I forecast that it will be Germany and America that will lead that Federation to such function.

Such plays on the chessboard of international affairs can be looked upon as indications of the eventual under-

standings between peoples that this practice of conquest and looting for the sake of race aggrandizement, must, somewhere, end. Races cannot go back to their original locations—not as races. There must be some other way of razing the mountains of hatred that overhang them all—like a restless volcano spouting fumes of cataclysm.

¶ Approaching the problem from the human standpoint, we might attempt to allocate those races to certain localities geographically where they would best thrive physically and temperamentally; but that too is nonsense in a practical world where some of the best locations climatically are held by the weakest and most shiftless peoples. We have seen history as a long panorama of the strongest nations seizing the lands of the weakest, and making but chattels of their residents. To attempt to prescribe a return to original allocations, is more absurd than attempting to tell a strong man that he shall shed his stature and become a youngster ~~to~~

¶ The solution of the problem is simple, however; so simple that whole batteries of world statesmen cannot see the forest for the trees.

Man has long gone on the principle that Might makes Right, whether he has accepted it academically or not. He has said, "I can, therefore I will." It has never occurred to him to be sensible toward his children. And here, in a handful of words, we have a solution to the entire heterogeneity of races.

What of the children?

What of the future for our children?

What problems are we handing on to them, freighted with wars, alarms, and international catastrophes, and how can we interpret to our children our problems in terms of ourselves?



THAT man is not a creature of law and order, is a premise I laid down in the beginning. He is a creature of expedience. His only thought is of the present. He cares not for the morrow or for his children's welfare after they have grown. He does his whole duty by his children—so he thinks—when he raises them to legal maturity. Thereafter they must become creatures of circumstance, like himself, and he takes a grim pride in passing on to them the heritage of hate that he received from his fathers. He thinks that he is ennobling those children by presenting them with such a state of animosity for them to battle with. His whole thought is not exactly selfish so much as vindictive. Life, and his forebears, gave him a "raw deal" and he will seek compensation for his own struggles with destiny by bequeathing it to those who follow after him *✿ ✿*

He is now the conscious curser of his own progeny. He conceives that there is something smart in transferring to another generation what he has been made to suffer from the last. But in all his thinking he makes one colossal error—an error which I submit is the keystone of the miserable complication.

He neglects to take into account that he may be his own grandson ✿ ✿

Mark this well!

What if a hundred years from today it is discovered and proven that the much-despised theory of Earthly Rebirth is a scientifically provable fact? What if millions of men smarting under international injustices for which they castigate their forefathers, suddenly come to realize that they themselves are their forebears' reborn souls? What a ghastly joke they will have been playing on themselves! ✿ ✿

They have vindictively bequeathed to themselves the very calamities from which they now suffer.

There is no religion in this, no theology, no fanatical cult-doctrine, nothing but elementary science of perpetuation of identity.

Hundreds of thousands of people have positive knowledge that they have lived before on this earth; they have, many of them, directly "lifted memories" of those sequences. There are attested cases of men able to converse intelligently, one with another, in the most ancient Atlantean speech. The memory of it has suddenly come to them on hearing it spoken by others. Thousands of souls have awakened memories of prior existences with each year that passes. On the other hand, millions of persons, not yet realizing it consciously, accredit the subconscious realization that they could not have attained to their present roles intellectually without long, long evolution.

The knowledge that these things may be the sternest of facts, is percolating at an amazing rate in these hectic years among people in all nations, undermining the dogmatic creeds and causing religious unrest in all countries ✻ ✻

Science is dramatically close to proving it in physics.

¶ I have conducted certain experiments in my own case which convince me of the truth of such a principle behind life, putting mentally afflicted persons into deep cataleptic slumber and awakening their prior-life memories to such an extent that I have had immature, adolescent youngsters arouse and give me the most erudite narrations of events and customs that maintained in vanished civilizations.

Persons by the hundreds who hold similar opinions have made themselves known to me, and I have exchanged data with similar experimenters and found that they agree. These are not the vaporings of fanatics. They have come to me from people in every walk in life, from every caste and station, from railroad presidents to college students, from bankers and statesmen to elevator starters and veterinary surgeons. They attest to one salient fact: that the claim set forth elsewhere that there are over one million supporters of the Earthly Rebirth tenet in America today, is not an exaggeration.

¶ Surely one million persons could not be hoodwinked on a tenet of mortal life so tremendous. And yet this volume is no place to discuss this grand fundamental of all esoterics. I would not unduly disturb my reader of

practical mind, who has followed me up to now with reasonable credence, by sidetracking him abruptly into dramatic metaphysics. I merely submit that we are confronting a theory no longer in the theory class. We are confronting a quasi-scientific principle and a divine attestment, that man after man is but the reborn soul of his own forebear, that citizen after citizen, socially speaking, is but reaping the whirlwind of hate in his national life which he has been instrumental in sowing in ages which are ancient.

What is Time in eternity? Time is merely the measure of change. The more advanced physicists are ready to agree that Time is merely the present instant but interpreted by man in terms of event succeeding event, because his brain is not so constituted as to comprehend a succession of events in one century-grasp.

Think now, I say—assuming for argument's sake that such theory holds water—what a great tragedy we as a nation are bequeathing to ourselves, by the passing on to our "offspring" of problems that are unsolvable excepting by turmoil, wrath, and bloodshed. We are deliberately willing ourselves the supreme catastrophe—Perpetual Hell—so long as we are called to undergo a continuity of earthly existence until we have arrived at the spiritual magnitude where our graduation from earth into a real heaven is a merited evolution.

Man is not a law-abiding creature, because he refuses to recognize that one law only governs this universe: COMPENSATION.

Those who sow the whirlwind, suffer the tempest's devastating effects. They suffer it not only in one life, but in a continual series of existences in which again and again they drain the bitter cup of their own wickedness.

¶ Make no mistake about this.

When a nation says to itself, "We will commit this dastardly act upon our neighbors, reaping the immediate benefits and escaping the penalty by slipping out into 'death' forty or fifty years in future," let it remember that there may be no such thing as escaping into Death. The people of that nation, or of that race, may slip into another state temporarily—the Paradise, let us say of Biblical legend and of Christ's reference to the thief on the cross—a temporary haven of recognition that they have not paid but that they must pay, and that eventually they go back to pay. Born back into earthly flesh, a little higher spiritually perhaps, a little better in rank and station, yet they never escape the wheels of the chariot, or the hoofs of the steeds of wrath, which once they drove over the living bodies of those whom they had wronged.

There seem to be only so many people in all existence. The number apparently is fixed from millennium to millennium. They go and come, in physical life and out of it. "New persons" may be born out of the great ocean of inorganic spirit, so to speak, as the cycles of the millenniums open and close, and an equal number of souls graduate and leave the solar postulation. But the total number, we have reason to believe, is more or less a

norm. They are either in earthly life as mortal men or they are waiting "in between lives" for a new try at physical existence. There is no escaping the great law of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, albeit the eyes and the teeth are their own. Again I say, this is not inserted as any homily in mysticism. It is a stern reminder that there is no bequeathing the result of international wrong-doing, envy, malice, jealousy, seizure or forfeit, to other generations.

And the problem is always with us until we solve it with compassion and equity. The sins of the fathers are truly visited upon the children, not in the unfair bequest of maladies and malformations of bodies—as petty hucksters of finicky doctrines would have us believe in their own blindness and ignorance of what is really stirring in the world—but in terrific arraignment of ourselves to ourselves.



TAKE now the international problems which the age presents, and follow them out along the tenets of this fundamental life doctrine. The Englishman says to the German, "I am better than you are. My forefathers accomplished more. They were an organized nation while your forefathers were living in icy fens of dismal middle Europe." Both say to the Chinaman, "We live by a better standard and worship a purer God. To us you are heathen and so we spit upon you." The Dutchman says to the East Indian, "We are your masters. We are given divine power to force you to work for us and fatten our purses. We flog you in the interests of your souls—and our own bank accounts." The Rumanian says to the Serbian, "Lo, we have an age-long account against you. You are an abomination unto us and all your progeny are dogs." Only recently the Russian aristocrat said to the peasant, "We consider you animals. You toil for us because God wills it, having no brain and no soul, made to hew our wood and draw our water. We apply the cat to you in the interests of humanity. Suffer your pain well, for you know that it is merited." The Gentile says to the Jew, "You dogs of Israel with your greasy palms, we hate the sight of your manners and noses. We cut your throats with the greatest joy for you toil not, neither do you spin, and yet Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed as you attempt to array yourselves on substance filched from us in days of misfortune." The American

too is not above his snobbery, "Lo, we are the best people, of the best nation, of this best of all possible worlds, with our motor cars and radios, our night clubs and morning shower-baths, our penthouses and bungalow homes. We teach the whole world manners though we cannot do likewise to our offspring."

What a mockery of truth! What a travesty on morals!

¶ What a hoax each of these nationals plays upon himself if mayhap in the next generation the individual Englishman goes thorough a life experience as a German, the brutal Dutch taskmaster finds himself born an East Indian, the Rumanian alternates with the Serbian, the Jew and the Gentile change places for a few lives in order that each may know what the other's intolerance and sufferings were like, and all of these races vie with the American in ignoring the fact that he who chastises is chastened by his own rod and knows his own wrath.

¶ Terrific indeed would be the readjustments between all of these, if Science came to the species in a near day and supplied proof that it were so. For where then could any race hide from its iniquity?

I say that national life is not alone a condition. It is some kind of payment. Every race suffers from some other race, every national is working out the sum and substance of his own penalty prescribed by himself in ages which are closed. These things are so potent that it behooves every man of every race not to close his eyes and ears to evidences of the credibility of this doctrine lying all about him.

Human life would be silly and futile if some such law were not being vindicated. The Mosaic Law is heavy with its references. The teachings and preachments of Jesus take on a new and startling significance when His adjuration "Ye must be born again" is accepted literally and we consider the possibility that not one life but a hundred lives are necessary in order to evolve, educate, and perfect a human soul eligible to associate eternally thereafter with the souls of The Just Men Made Perfect. ¶ Men discuss a "wrathful creator," a "just God," as though the eventual and permanent After-Life were some sort of police court through which they will slip by having paid a fine in charities. To persons of rational intellect the very process is idiotic.

Men are their own judges, their own penalty makers, their own executioners. What they sow, that also do they reap—Christ Himself said so in a hundred places. God—granted He were what the prelates consider Him—could not find the time to give attention to the miserable miscalculations in human form that would thus present themselves to His judgship.

Of course I am not insane enough to have any man think that it is possible to reconstruct the political life of nations on such a hypothesis at the present moment. We are dealing with actualities.

The race as a species has a problem to solve. That problem is twofold: First, it must find a way to redress the wrongs of the past; second, it must create a better order in society on a basis that will halt any repetition

of the wrongs that have brought society its present complication ✿ ✿

The race as a race is approaching those years when world society must rise above petty differences of color and creed and take the long view of the proposition that men as men are not mere flesh and blood creations and nothing more. They are spiritual entities who inhabit flesh-and-blood houses in order to learn how to behave while living in different neighborhoods.

They are not creatures of skin and sinew, so much as spiritual sensations. They have no part or parcel with physical limitation only as it enhances spiritual perception. They are not what we see them, sublimated apes, but gods in school, learning how to adjudicate, each one, over a hundred thousand million planetary systems yet to be created.

This would be a rash projection to lay down on the green-baize table of international diplomacy or practical world statesmanship. But the time is coming when statesmen will be forced to recognize that men are uncontrollable permanently, that spirit essences are the true stuffs in which they deal, that humankind as a mass is chaotic only because it is not yet fully enlightened in these matters, and that that nation is great that is first to consider itself the beacon in the new order in world affairs and clean its own courtyard to receive the God of Social Illumination with the courtesy He merits.

